THE

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS

BY

WILLIAM MELMOTH, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

------------------Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. *Hor.*

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LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XI.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 708.]

To Tiro.

Your letter encourages me to hope that you find yourself better: I am sure, at least, I most sincerely wish that you may. I entreat you, therefore, to consecrate all your cares to that end; and by no means indulge so mistaken a suspicion as that I am displeased you are not with me. With me you are, in the best sense of that expression, if you are taking care of your health; which I had much rather you should attend, than on myself. For though I

always both see and hear you with pleasure, that pleasure will be greatly increased, when I shall have the satisfaction, at the same time, to be assured that you are perfectly well.

My work is at present suspended[1], as I cannot make use of my own hand: however, I employ myself a good deal in reading. If your transcribers should be puzzled with my manuscript, I beg you would give them your assistance; as, indeed, there is an interlineation relating to a circumstance in Cato's behaviour, when he was only four years of age[2], that I could scarce

[1] The work to which Cicero alludes was probably a panegyric upon Cato, which he wrote and published about this time.

[2] Plutarch mentions several instances in the life of Cato, wherein that consummate patriot had given very early indications of his resolute and inflexible spirit. But the most remarkable, and probably the same which Cicero had celebrated in the passage he is here speaking of, was one that happened when Cato was in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, who had taken upon himself the care of his education. At that time the several states of Italy, in alliance with the republic, were strenuously soliciting the privileges of Roman citizens; and Pompedius Silo, a person of great note, who came to Rome, in order to prosecute this affair, was the guest of Drusus. As Pompedius was one day amusing himself with the children of the family, "Well, young "gentlemen," said he, addressing himself particularly to the little Cato and his brother, "I hope you will use your inte-"rest with your uncle, to give his vote in our favour." The latter very readily answered in the affirmative, while Cato signified his refusal, by fixing his eyes sternly upon Pompedius, without saying a single word in reply. Pompedius, snatching him up in his arms, ran with him to the window, and, in a pretended rage, threatened to throw him out, if he did

scarce decypher myself. You will continue your care, likewise, that the dining-room be in proper order for the reception of our guests; in which number, I dare say, I may reckon Tertia, provided Publius be not invited.

That strange fellow, Demetrius, was always, I know, the very reverse of his name-sake, of Phaleris[3]: but I find he is now grown more insufferable than ever, and is degenerated into an arrant Bilienus[4]. I resign the management of him, therefore, entirely into your hands, and you will pay your court to him accordingly. But, *however---d'ye see---and as to that---*(to present you with a few of his own elegant expletives) if you should have any conversation with him, let me know, that it may furnish me with the subject of a letter, and at the same time

did not immediately yield to his request. But in vain: nature had not formed the *atrocem animum Catonis* of a texture to be menaced out of its purposes. Accordingly Pompedius was so struck with that early symptom of an undaunted spirit, that he could not forbear saying to some of his friends who were present, "How happy will it be for Italy, if this "boy should live! For my part," continued he, "I am "well persuaded, if he were now a man, we should not be "able to procure a single suffrage throughout all Rome." *Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticen.*

[3] Demetrius, surnamed Phalerius, from Phaleris, a sea-port town in Greece, was a celebrated orator, who flourished about three centuries before the birth of Christ.

[4] Who this person and Demetrius were is utterly unknown: but it is probable that the ridiculous part of their characters, to which Cicero here alludes, was that of being very dull and inelegant orators.

time afford me the pleasure of reading so much longer an one from yourself. In the mean while take care of your health, my dear Tiro, I conjure you, and be well persuaded that you cannot render me a more pleasing service. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA[1].

OH ! that the silence you so kindly regret had been occasioned by my own death, rather than by the severe loss[2] I have suffered: a loss I should be better able to support, if I had you with

[1] He was at this time with Cæsar in Spain.

[2] The death of his daughter Tullia. It appears, by a former letter, that she had lately lain-in at Rome, from whence she was probably removed, for the benefit of the air, to her father's Tusculan villa, where she seems to have died. This letter furnishes a presumptive argument against the opinion of those who imagine that Dolabella and Tullia were never actually divorced. For, in the first place, notwithstanding it appears that there was some distance of time between the accident of her death and the present epistle, yet it seems to have been the first letter which Cicero had written to Dolabella upon the occasion. Now it is altogether improbable, if the marriage had subsisted, that Cicero should not have given him immediate notice of an event in which, if not from affection, at least from interest, he would have been greatly concerned. In the next place, it is equally improbable, supposing there had been no divorce, that Cicero should speak of this misfortune only in general and distant terms, as he does throughout this whole letter, without so much as mentioning the name of Tullia, or intimating even the remotest hint of any connexion between her and Dolabella. But the following letter will supply a farther and more positive argument against the opinion above-mentioned. See rem. 4. on the next letter. *Ad Att.* xii. 45. 46.

with me: for your judicious counsels, and singular affection towards me, would greatly contribute to alleviate its weight. This good office, indeed, I may yet, perhaps, receive; for, as I imagine we shall soon see you here, you will find me still so deeply affected, as to have an opportunity of affording me great assistance: not that this affliction has so broken my spirit, as to render me unmindful that I am a man, or apprehensive that I must totally sink under its pressure. But all that cheerfulness and vivacity of temper, which you once so particularly admired, has now, alas! entirely forsaken me. My fortitude and resolution, nevertheless, (if these virtues were ever mine) I still retain; and retain them too in the same vigour as when you left me.

As to those battles which, you tell me, you have sustained upon my account, I am far less solicitous that you should confute my detractors[3], than that the world should know (as it unquestionably does) that I enjoy a place in your

[3] The person to whom Cicero alludes, was, in all probability, his own nephew, who was at this time in the army with Cæsar. This young man had taken great liberties with his uncle's character, aspersing it upon all occasions, and in all companies: in particular, (and what gave Cicero the greatest uneasiness) he attempted to infuse a suspicion among the principal officers of the army, that Cicero was a man of dangerous designs, and one against whom Cæsar ought to be particularly upon his guard. *Ad Att.* xii. 38. xiii. 37.

your affection; and may you still continue to render that truth conspicuous. To this request I will add another, and entreat you to excuse me for not sending you a longer letter. I shorten it, not only as imagining we shall soon meet, but because my mind is at present by no means sufficiently composed for writing. Farewel.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 708.]

SERVIUS SULPICIUS to CICERO.

I RECEIVED the news of your daughter's death, with all the concern it so justly deserves; and, indeed, I cannot but consider it as a misfortune in which I bear an equal share with yourself. If I had been near you when this fatal accident happened, I should not only have mingled my tears with yours, but assisted you with all the consolation in my power. I am sensible, at the same time, that offices of this kind afford, at best, but a wretched relief: for as none are qualified to perform them, but those who stand near to us, by the ties either of blood or affection, such persons are generally too much afflicted themselves, to be capable of administering comfort to others. Nevertheless, I thought proper to suggest a few reflections which occurred to me upon this occasion: not

as imagining they would be new to you, but believing that, in your present discomposure of mind, they might possibly have escaped your attention. Tell me, then, my friend, wherefore do you indulge this excess of sorrow? Reflect, I entreat you, in what manner fortune has dealt with every one of us; that she has deprived us of what ought to be no less dear than our children, and overwhelmed, in one general ruin, our honours, our liberties, and our country. And, after these losses, is it possible that any other should increase our tears? Is it possible that a mind long exercised in calamities so truly severe should not become totally callous and indifferent to every event? But you will tell me, perhaps, that your grief arises not so much on your own account, as on that of Tullia. Yet, surely, you must often, as well as myself, have had occasion, in these wretched times, to reflect, that their condition by no means deserves to be regretted, whom death has gently removed from this unhappy scene. What is there, let me ask, in the present circumstances of our country, that could have rendered life greatly desirable to your daughter? What pleasing hopes, what agreeable views, what rational satisfaction could she possibly have proposed to herself, from a more extended period? Was it in the prospect of conjugal happiness, in the society of some distinguish-

ed youth[4]? as if, indeed, you could have found a son-in-law, amongst our present set of young men, worthy of being entrusted with the care of your daughter! Or was it in the expectation of being the joyful mother of a flourishing race, who might possess their patrimony with independence, who might gradually rise through the several dignities of the state, and exert the liberty to which they were born in the service and defence of their friends and country? But is there one amongst all these desirable privileges, of which we were not deprived, before she was in a capacity of transmitting them to her descendants? Yet, after all, you may still alledge, perhaps, that the loss of our children is a severe affliction; and unquestionably it would be so, if it were not a much greater to see them live to endure those indignities which their parents suffer.

I lately

[4] This passage seems strongly to intimate, that the marriage between Dolabella and Tullia was actually dissolved before her death. It must be acknowledged, however, that a very learned and accurate critic is of opinion, that the affirmative side of this question can no more be proved from these words of Sulpicius, than it can be inferred from those which he immediately adds, *an ut ea liberos ex sese pareret*, that Tullia died without issue; which it is well known she did not. But there seems to be this difference between the two instances; that, with respect to the latter, Sulpicius mght very properly put the question he there does, notwithstanding Tullia's having left a son; for although she had *one*, she might reasonably indulge the expectation of having more: whereas, with regard to the former, would it not have been highly injurious to her character, if Sulpicius had argued from a supposition which implied that Tullia entertained thoughts of another husband, whilst her marriage with Dolabella was still subsisting? *Vid. epist. Tunstal. ad vir. erud. Con. Middleton. p.* 186.

I lately fell into a reflection, which, as it afforded great relief to the disquietude of my own heart, it may possibly contribute, likewise, to assuage the anguish of yours. In my return out of Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara[5], I amused myself with contemplating the circumjacent countries. Behind me lay Ægina, before me Megara; on my right I saw Piræeus[6], and on my left Corinth[7]. These cities, once so flourishing and magnificent, now presented nothing to my view but a sad spectacle of desolation. "Alas, (I said to myself) shall such a "short-lived creature as man complain, when "one of his species falls either by the hand of "violence, or by the common course of nature; "whilst in this narrow compass, so many great "and glorious cities, formed for a much longer "duration, thus lie extended in ruins? Remember, then, oh my heart! the general lot "to which man is born, and let that thought "suppress thy unreasonable murmurs." Believe me, I found my mind greatly refreshed and comforted by these reflections. Let me advise you, in the same manner, to represent to yourself, what numbers

[5] Ægina, now called Engia, is an island situated in the gulf that runs between the Peloponnesus and Attica, to which it gives its name. Megara was a city near the isthmus of Corinth.

[6] A celebrated sea-port at a small distance from Athens, now called Port-Lion.

[7] A city in the Peloponnesus.

numbers of our illustrious countrymen have lately been cut off at once[a], how much the strength of the Roman republic is impaired, and what dreadful devastation has gone forth throughout all its provinces! And can you, with the impression of these greater calamities upon your mind, be so immoderately afflicted for the loss of a single individual, a poor, little, tender, woman? who, if she had not died at this time, must, in a few fleeting years more, have inevitably undergone that common fate to which she was born[8].

Reasonable, however, as these reflections are, I would call you from them awhile, in order to lead

[a] In the civil wars.

[8] One of the finest and most elegant of all writers, either ancient or modern, has given us some reflections which arose in his mind, in walking amongst the repositories of the dead in Westminster-Abbey; which, as they are not altogether foreign to the subject of this letter, the reader, perhaps, will indulge me in the pleasure of producing, as a sort of corollaries to the sentiments of Sulpicius. "When I look upon "the tombs of the great," (says the incomparable Addison) "every emotion of envy dies within me; when I read the "epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; "when I meet with the grief of parents, upon a tomb-stone, "my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of "the parents, themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving "for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings "lying by those who deposed them; when I consider rival "wits, placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the "world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sor- "row and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, "and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of "the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hun- "dred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all "of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance toge- "ther." *Spect. Vol.* 1. *Numb.* 26.

lead your thoughts to others more peculiarly suitable to your circumstances and character. Remember, then, that your daughter lived as long as life was worth possessing, that is, till liberty was no more; that she lived to see you in the illustrious offices of prætor, consul, and augur; to be married to some of the noblest youths in Rome[9]; to be blessed with almost every valuable enjoyment; and, at length, to expire with the republic itself. Tell me, now, what is there in this view of her fate, that could give either her or yourself just reason to complain? In fine, do not forget that you are Cicero; the wise, the philosophical Cicero, who were wont to give advice to others, nor resemble those unskilful empirics, who, at the same time that they pretend to be furnished with remedies for other men's disorders, are altogether incapable of finding a cure for their own. On the contrary, apply to your private use those judicious precepts you have administered to the public. Time necessarily weakens the strongest impressions of sorrow; but it would be a reproach to your character not to anticipate this its certain effect, by the force of your own good sense and judgment. If the dead retain any consciousness of what is here transacted, your daughter's affection, I am sure,

[9] To Piso, Crassipes, and Dolabella; of each of whom an account has been occasionally given in the preceding observations.

sure, was such, both to you and to all her relations, that she can by no means desire you should abandon yourself to this excess of grief. Restrain it then, I conjure you, for her sake, and for the sake of the rest of your family and friends, who lament to see you thus afflicted. Restrain it, too, I beseech you, for the sake of your country; that whenever the opportunity shall serve, it may reap the benefit of your counsels and assistance. In short, since such is our fortune, that we must necessarily submit to the present system of public affairs, suffer it not to be suspected, that it is not so much the death of your daughter, as the fate of the republic, and the success of our victors, that you deplore.

But it would be ill-manners to dwell any longer upon this subject, as I should seem to question the efficacy of your own good sense. I will only add, therefore, that as we have often seen you bear prosperity in the noblest manner, and with the highest applause, shew us, likewise, that you are not too sensible of adversity, but know how to support it with the same advantage to your character. In a word, let it not be said, that fortitude is the single virtue to which my friend is a stranger[10].

As

[10] Sulpicius has drawn together, in this admired letter, whatever human philosophy has of force to compose the perturbations of a mind under the disquietude of severe afflictions,

As for what concerns myself, I will send you an account of the state of this province, and of what is transacting in this part of the world, as soon as I shall hear that you are sufficiently composed to receive the information. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 708.]

To Servius Sulpicius.

I join with you, my dear Sulpicius, in wishing that you had been in Rome when this most severe calamity befel me. I am sensible of the advantage I should have received from your presence, and I had almost said your equal participation of my grief, by having found myself somewhat more composed after I had read your letter. It furnished me, indeed, with arguments extremely proper to sooth the anguish of affliction, and evidently flowed from a heart that sympathized with the sorrows it endeavoured to assuage. But, although I could not enjoy the benefit of your own good offices in person, I had the advantage, however, of your son's, who gave me a proof, by every tender assistance

tions. But, it is evident, that all arguments of the sort here produced, tend rather to silence the clamours of sorrow, than to soften and subdue its anguish. It is a much more exalted philosophy, indeed, that must supply the effectual remedies for this purpose; to which, no other but that of christianity alone, will be found, on the trial, to be in any rational degree sufficient.

sistance that could be contributed upon so melancholy an occasion, how much he imagined that he was acting agreeably to your sentiments, when he thus discovered the affection of his own. More pleasing instances of his friendship, I have frequently received, but never any that were more obliging. As to those for which I am indebted to yourself, it is not only the force of your reasonings, and the very considerable share you take in my afflictions, that have contributed to compose my mind; it is the deference, likewise, which I always pay to the authority of your sentiments. For, knowing, as I perfectly do, the superior wisdom with which you are enlightened, I should be ashamed not to support my distresses in the manner you think I ought, I will acknowledge, nevertheless, that they sometimes almost entirely overcome me; and I am scarce able to resist the force of my grief when I reflect, that I am destitute of those consolations which attended others, whose examples I propose to my imitation. Thus Quintus Maximus[1] lost a son of consular rank, and distinguished by many brave

[1] Quintus Fabius Maximus, so well known for his brave and judicious conduct in opposing the progress of Hannibal's arms in Italy, was five times advanced to the consular office; the last of which was in the year of Rome 545. At the expiration of his fourth consulate, he was succeeded in that office by his son, Marcus Fabius, who, likewise, distinguished himself

brave and illustrious actions; Lucius Paulus[2] was deprived of two sons in the space of a single week, and your relation Gallus[3], together with Marcus Cato[4], had both of them the unhappiness to survive their respective sons, who were endowed with the highest abilities and virtues.

himself by his military achievements. It does not appear when, or by what accident, Marcus died; but his illustrious father was so much master of his grief upon that occasion, as to pronounce a funeral eulogy in honour of his son, before a general assembly of the people. *Liv.* xxiv. 43. *Plut. in vit. Fab.*

[2] A very few days before Paulus Æmilius made his public entry into Rome, in the year 585, on occasion of his victory over Perseus, he had the misfortune to lose one of his sons; and this calamity was succeeded by another of the same kind, which befel him about as many days *after* his triumph. *Liv.* xlv. 41.

[3] Manutius conjectures, that the person here mentioned, is Caius Sulpicius Gallus, who was consul in the year 586.

[4] The censor. His son was prætor in the year of Rome 638, and died whilst he was in the administration of that office. I cannot forbear transcribing upon this occasion a noble passage from Cicero's treatise concerning old age, as I find it extremely well translated to my hand, by a late ingenius writer (Mr. Hughes, if I mistake not) in the Spectator. Our author represents Cato as breaking out into the following rapture at the thoughts of his approaching dissolution: "O happy day," (says this amiable moralist) "when I "shall escape from this crowd, this heap of pollution, and "be admitted to that divine assembly of exalted spirits! "when I shall go—to my Cato, my son; than whom a better "man was never born, and whose funeral rites I myself per- "formed; whereas, he ought rather to have attended mine. "Yet has not his soul deserted me, but seeming to cast a "look on me, is gone before to those habitations to which it "was sensible I should follow him. And though I might ap- "pear to have borne my loss with courage, I was not unaffected "with it; but I comforted myself in the assurance, that it "would not be long before we should meet again, and be di- "vorced no more." *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 99. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Cic. de Senect.* 23. *Spect. Vol.* 7. *Numb.* 537.

virtues. Yet these unfortunate parents lived in times when the honours they derived from the republic might, in some measure, alleviate the weight of their domestic misfortunes. But as for myself, after having been stripped of those dignities you mention, and which I had acquired by the most laborious exertion of my abilities, I had one only consolation remaining; and of that I am now bereaved! I could no longer divert the disquietude of my thoughts, by employing myself in the causes of my friends, or the business of the state; for I could no longer, with any satisfaction, appear either in the forum, or the senate. In short, I justly considered myself as cut off from the benefit of all those alleviating occupations in which fortune and industry had qualified me to engage. But I considered, too, that this was a deprivation which I suffered in common with yourself, and some others; and, whilst I was endeavouring to reconcile my mind to a patient endurance of those ills, there was one to whose tender offices I could have recourse; and, in the sweetness of whose conversation I could discharge all the cares and anxiety of my heart. But this last fatal stab to my peace, has torn open those wounds which seemed in some measure to have been tolerably healed. For I can now no longer lose my private sorrows in the prosperity of the commonwealth,

as I was wont to dispel the uneasiness I suffered upon the public account, in the happiness I received at home. Accordingly, I have equally banished myself from my house[5], and from the public; as finding no relief in either, from the calamities I lament in both. It is this, therefore, that heightens my desire of seeing you here; as nothing can afford me a more effectual consolation than the renewal of our friendly intercourse: a happiness which I hope, and am informed, indeed, that I shall shortly enjoy. Among the many reasons I have for impatiently wishing your arrival, one is, that we may previously concert together our scheme of conduct in the present conjuncture; which, however, must now be entirely accommodated to another's will. This person[a], it is true, is a man of great abilities and generosity; and one, if I mistake not, who is by no means my enemy; as I am sure he is extremely your friend. Nevertheless, it requires much consideration, I do not say in what manner we shall act with respect to public affairs, but by what methods we may best obtain his permission to retire from them. Farewel.

LETTER

[5] Cicero, upon the death of his daughter, retired from his own house, to one belonging to Atticus, near Rome: from which, perhaps, this letter was written.

[a] Cæsar.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 708.]

To Lucius Lucceius[6].

All the letters I have received from you, upon the subject of my late misfortune, were extremely acceptable to me, as instances of the highest affection and good sense. But the great advantage I have derived from them, principally results from that animating contempt with which you look down upon human affairs, and that exemplary fortitude which arms you against all the various assaults of fortune. I esteem it the most glorious privilege of philosophy, to be thus superior to external accidents, and to depend for happiness on ourselves alone: a sentiment, which, although it was too deeply planted in my heart to be totally eradicated, has been somewhat weakened, I confess, by the violence of those repeated storms to which I have been lately exposed. But you have endeavoured, and with great success indeed, to restore it to all its usual strength and vigour. I cannot, therefore, either too often, or too strongly, assure you, that nothing could give me an higher satisfaction than your letter. But, powerful

[6] The same to whom the 20th letter of the first book is written. See an account of him in rem. 1. on that epistle.

erful as the various arguments of consolation are which you have collected for my use, and elegantly as you have enforced them, I must acknowledge, that nothing proved more effectual than that firmness of mind which I remarked in your letters, and which I should esteem as the utmost reproach not to imitate. But if I imitate, I must necessarily excel my guide and instructor in this lesson of fortitude; for I am altogether unsupported by the same hopes which I find you entertain, that public affairs will improve. Those illustrations, indeed, which you draw from the gladiatorial combats[7], together with the whole tendency of your reasoning in general, all concur in forbidding me to despair of the commonwealth. It would be nothing extraordinary, therefore, if you should be more composed than myself, whilst you are in possession of these pleasing hopes: the only wonder is, how you can possibly entertain any. For say, my friend, what is there of our constitution that is not utterly subverted? Look round the republic and tell me, (you who so well understand

[7] Manutius supposes, with great probability, that Lucceius, in the letter to which this is an answer, had endeavoured to persuade Cicero not to despair of better times, by reminding him of what sometimes happened at the gladiatorial shews, where it was not unusual to see a combatant that seemed almost entirely vanquished, unexpectedly recover his ground, and gain the day from his antagonist.

stand the nature of our government) what part of it remains unbroken or unimpaired? Most unquestionably there is not one; as I would prove in detail, if I imagined my own discernment was superior to yours, or were capable (notwithstanding all your powerful admonitions and precepts) to dwell upon so melancholy a subject without being extremely affected. But I will bear my domestic misfortunes in the manner you assure me that I ought; and as to those of the public, I shall support them, perhaps, with greater equanimity than even my friend. For (to repeat it again) you are not, it seems, without some sort of hopes; whereas, for myself, I have absolutely none: and shall, therefore, in pursuance of your advice, preserve my spirits even in the midst of despair. The pleasing recollection of those actions you recal to my remembrance, and which, indeed, I performed chiefly by your encouragement and recommendation, will greatly contribute to this end. To say the truth, I have done every thing for the service of my country that I ought, and more than could have been expected from the courage and counsels of any man. You will pardon me, I hope, for speaking in this advantageous manner of my own conduct, but, as you advise me to alleviate my present uneasiness by

a retrospect of my past actions, I will confess, that, in thus commemorating them, I find great consolation.

I shall punctually observe your admonitions, by calling off my mind as much as possible from every thing that may disturb its peace, and fixing it on those speculations which are at once an ornament to prosperity, and the support of adversity. For this purpose, I shall endeavour to spend as much of my time with you as our health and years will mutually permit: and if we cannot meet so often as I am sure we both wish, we shall always at least seem present to each other by a sympathy of hearts, and an union in the same philosophical contemplations. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 708.]

Lucceius to Cicero.

I shall rejoice to hear that you are well. As to my own health, it is much as usual; or rather, I think, somewhat worse.

I have frequently called at your door, and am much surprised to find that you have not been in Rome since Cæsar left it. What is it that so strongly draws you from hence? If any of your usual engagements of the literary kind renders you thus enamoured of solitude, I am so far

from condemning your retirement, that I think of it with pleasure. There is no sort of life, indeed, that can be more agreeable, not only in times so disturbed as the present, but even in those of the most desirable calm and serenity: especially to a mind like yours, which may have occasion for repose from its public labours, and which is always capable of producing something that will afford both pleasure to others and honour to yourself. But if you have withdrawn from the world, in order to give a free vent to those tears which you so immoderately indulged when you were here, I shall lament, indeed, your grief: but (if you will allow me to speak the truth) I never can excuse it. For tell me, my friend, is it possible that a man of your uncommon discernment should not perceive what is obvious to all mankind? Is it possible you can be ignorant that your perpetual complaints can profit nothing, and only serve to increase those disquietudes which your good sense requires you to subdue? But if arguments cannot prevail, entreaties perhaps may. Let me conjure you, then, by all the regard you bear me, to dispel this gloom that hangs upon your heart; to return to that society and to those occupations which were either common to us both, or peculiar to yourself. But though I

would

would fain dissuade you from continuing your present way of life, yet I would by no means suffer my zeal to be troublesome. In the difficulty, therefore, of steering between these two inclinations, I will only add my request that you would either comply with my advice, or excuse me for offering it. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 708.]

To Lucius Lucceius.

Every part of your last letter glowed with that warmth of friendship, which, though it was by no means new to me, I could not but observe with peculiar satisfaction; I would say *pleasure*, if that were not a word to which I have now for ever bidden adieu. Not merely, however, for the cause you suspect, and for which, under the gentlest and most affectionate terms, you, in fact, very severely reproach me; but because all that ought in reason to assuage the anguish of so deep a wound is absolutely no more. For whither shall I fly for consolation? Is it to the bosom of my friends? But tell me (for we have generally shared the same common amities together) how few of that number are remaining? how few that have not perished by the sword, or that are not become

strangely insensible? You will say, perhaps, that I might seek my relief in your society; and there, indeed, I would willingly seek it. The same habitudes and studies, a long intercourse of friendship—in short, is there any sort of bond, any single circumstance of connexion wanting to unite us together! Why then are we such strangers to one another? For my own part, I know not: but this I know, that we have hitherto seldom met, I do not say in Rome, where the Forum usually brings every body together[8], but when we were near neighbours at Tusculum and Puteolæ.

I know not by what ill fate it has happened, that, at an age when I might expect to flourish in the greatest credit and dignity, I should find myself in so wretched a situation as to be ashamed that I am still in being. Despoiled, indeed, of every honour and every comfort that adorned my public life, or solaced my private, what is it that can now afford me any refuge? My books, I imagine you will tell me: and to these, indeed, I very assiduously apply. For, to what else can I possibly have recourse? Yet even these seem to exclude me from that peaceful port which

[8] The forum was a place of general resort for the whole city. It was here that the lawyers pleaded their causes, that the poets recited their works, and that funeral orations were spoken in honour of the dead. It was here, in short, every thing was going forward, that could engage the active, or amuse the idle. *Vid. Hor. lib.* 1. *sat.* 4. 74. *sat.* 6. 42.

which I fain would reach, and reproach me, as it were, for prolonging that life which only increases my sorrows with my years. Can you wonder then that I absent myself from Rome, where there is nothing under my own roof to afford me any satisfaction, and where I abhor both public men and public measures, both the forum and the senate? For this reason it is that I wear away my days in a total application to literary pursuits: not, indeed, as entertaining so vain a hope, that I may find in them a complete cure for my misfortunes, but in order to obtain, at least, some little respite from their bitter remembrance.

If those dangers with which we were daily menaced, had not formerly prevented both you and myself from reflecting with that coolness we ought, we should never have been thus separated. Had that proved to have been the case, we should both of us have spared ourselves much uneasiness: as I should not have indulged so many groundless fears for your health, nor you for the consequences of my grief. Let us repair then this unlucky mistake as well as we may: and as nothing can be more suitable to both of us, than the company of each other, I purpose to be with you in a few days. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 708.]

To MARCUS MARCELLUS.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I have nothing new to communicate to you, and am in expectation of a letter from you very shortly, or rather, indeed, of seeing you in person; yet I would not suffer Theophilus to go away, without sending you a line or two by his hands. Let me entreat you then to return amongst us[9], as soon as possible; and, be assured, you are impatiently expected, not only by myself, and the rest of your friends, but by all Rome in general. I am sometimes, however, inclined to fear, that you will not be extremely forward to hasten your journey; and, indeed, if you were possessed of no other sense but that of seeing, I could easily excuse you if there are some persons whom you would chuse to avoid. But as the difference is very inconsiderable between hearing and being a spectator of what one disapproves; and as I am persuaded it is of great consequence, both in respect to your private affairs, as well as upon every other consideration, that you should expedite your return, I thought it incumbent upon me to tell you so. And now, having acquainted you with

my

[9] See let. 19. vol. ii. p. 343.

my sentiments, the rest must be left to your own determination: but I should be glad to know, however, when we may expect you. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

To Tiro.

Believe me, my dear Tiro, I am greatly anxious for your health: however, if you persevere in the same cautious regimen which you have hitherto observed, you will soon, I trust, be well. As to my library, I beg you would put the books in order, and take a catalogue of them, when your physician shall give you his consent: for it is by his directions you must now be governed. With respect to the gardener, I leave you to adjust matters as you shall judge proper.

I think you might come to Rome on the first of next month, in order to see the gladiatorial combats, and return the following day: but let this be entirely as is most agreeable to your own inclinations. In the mean time, if you have any affection for me, take care of your health. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER X.

[A. U. 708.]

SERVIUS SULPICIUS to CICERO.

THE news I am going to acquaint you with, will, I am sure, prove extremely unwelcome: yet, as you cannot but, in some measure, be prepared for it, by being sensible that every man's life is subject to casualties, as well as to the general laws of nature, I thought proper to send you a circumstantial account of the unhappy accident that has lately happened.

I arrived at Piræeus, from Epidaurus[1], on the 23d instant; where I continued all that day, merely to enjoy the company of my colleage, Marcellus[2]. The next day I took my leave of him, with an intention of going from Athens into Bœotia[3], in order to finish the remainder of my circuit[4]: and I left him in the resolution, as he told me, of sailing to Italy by the way of Malea[5]. The day following, as I was

[1] A city in the Peloponnesus, now called *Pigrada*, situated upon the bay of *Engia*.

[2] It has already been noted, that Marcellus and Sulpicius were colleagues in the consular office, A. U. 702.

[3] A district of Greece, under the jurisdiction of Sulpicius, governor of that province.

[4] The Roman governors were obliged to visit the principal cities of their province, in order to administer justice, and settle other affairs relating to their function.

[5] A promontory in the south-east point of the Peloponnesus, now called cape *Malis*.

was preparing to set out from Athens, his friend Posthumius came to me, about four in the morning, and informed me Marcellus had been stabbed the night before by Magius Cilo, whilst they were sitting together after supper[6]: that he had received two wounds from a dagger, one of which was in his breast, and the other under his ear; but that neither of them, he hoped, was mortal. He added, that Magius, after having committed this barbarous action, immediately killed himself; and that Marcellus had dispatched him in order to give me this account, and likewise to desire that I would direct my physicians[7] to attend him. This I instantly did: and followed them myself as soon as it was light. But when I had almost reached Piræeus, I met a servant of Acidanus, with a note to acquaint me that our friend expired a little before day-break. Thus did the noble Marcellus unworthily fall by the hand of a villainous assassin: and he whose life his very enemies had spared in reverence to his illustrious virtues,

[6] The reason which induced Cilo to murder his friend, is not certainly known. It was suspected by some, at Rome, that it was at the secret instigation of Cæsar: but the circumstance of Cilo immediately afterwards killing himself, renders that suspicion altogether improbable, and seems to determine the motive to some personal, and perhaps sudden resentment. *Vid. ad Att.* xiii. 10.

[7] The ancient physicians practised surgery as well as medicine.

virtues, met with an executioner, at last, in his own friend! However, I proceeded to his pavillion, where I found only two of his freedmen and a few slaves; the rest, I was told, having fled in apprehension of the consequences in which they might be involved by this murder of their master[8]. I was obliged to place the body of Marcellus in the same sedan that brought me, and to make my chairmen carry it into Athens; where I paid him all the funeral honours that city could supply; which, indeed, were not inconsiderable. But I could not prevail with the Athenians to suffer him to be buried within their walls; a privilege, they assured me, which their religious ordinances would by no means admit. They granted me, however, what was the next honour, and which they had never permitted to any stranger before: they allowed me to deposit his ashes in any of the Gymnasia I should think proper. Accordingly, I fixed upon a spot belonging to the Academy[9]; one of the noblest colleges in the whole world.

[8] Manutius remarks, that, by the Roman law, where a man was murdered in his own house, his slaves were punishable with death. *Vid. Tacit. Annal.* xiv. 42.

[9] "This celebratdd place took its name from one Academus, an ancient hero, who possessed it in the time of the "Tyndaridæ. But, famous as it was, it was purchased after-"wards for about 100l. and dedicated to the public for the "convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of "Athens, and was gradually improved by the rich, who had "received

world. In this place I caused a funeral pile to be erected: and afterwards persuaded the Athenians to raise a marble monument to his memory, at the public expence. Thus have I paid to my relation and colleague, both during his life and after his death, every friendly office he had a right to expect from me. Farewel.

Athens, May 31.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 708.]

To Tiro.

I impatiently expect a letter from you, upon affairs of many and various kinds: but it is with much greater impatience, however, that I expect yourself. In the mean time, endeavour to gain Demetrius over to my interest, and to obtain whatever other advantage you shall be able. I know your care is not wanting to recover the money which is owing to me from Aufidius: but I beg you would be as expeditious in that matter as possible. If it is upon that account you delay your return, I admit it to be a good reason: if not, fly hither, I charge

" received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of " groves, stately porticos, and commodious apartments, for " the professors of the academic school." *Middleton's life of Cic.* iii. 325.

charge you, with the utmost speed. To repeat it once more: I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 708.]

VATINIUS[1] to CICERO.

IF you have not renounced your usual custom of defending the cause of your friends, an old client of yours desires to engage you as his advocate: and, as you formerly protected him in his humiliation[2], I dare say you will not now abandon him in his glory. Whose aid, indeed, can I so properly invoke upon the occasion of my victories, as that generous friend's, who first taught me how to *vanquish*[3]? Can I doubt, that he who had the courage to withstand a combination of

[1] I have already had occasion to give an account of the character of Vatinius, in rem. 5. p. 160. vol. 1. He was at this time, by the appointment of Cæsar, governor of Illyricum; which comprehended part of Austria, Hungary, Sclavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia. He was sent thither with a considerable army, to reduce the people of that province to obedience; and having obtained some success, he wrote the present letter to Cicero, in order to engage him to support his pretensions to the honour of a public thanksgiving. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 454.

[2] When Cicero, much to his dishonour, defended Vatinius against the impeachment of Licinius Calvus. See vol. i. p. 189.

[3] Alluding to his having, by the assistance of Cicero's eloquence, vanquished his adversaries in the prosecution mentioned in the preceding note.

of the most powerful men in Rome, who had conspired my ruin, will not be able to beat down the envious and malignant efforts of a little contemptible party, that may endeavour to oppose my honours? If I still, then, retain the share I once enjoyed of your friendship, take me, I entreat you, wholly under your protection, as one whose dignities it is incumbent upon you both to support and advance. You are sensible that I have many enemies, whose malevolence I have in no sort deserved; but what avails innocence against so unaccountable a fate? If these, therefore, should any of them attempt to obstruct the honours I am soliciting, I conjure you to exert your generous offices, as usual, in defence of your absent friend. In the mean time, you will find, at the bottom of this letter, a copy of the dispatches I send by this express to the senate, concerning the success of my arms.

Being informed that the slave whom you employ as your reader had eloped from you into the country of the Vardæi[4], I have caused diligent search to be made after him, although I did not receive your commands for that purpose. I doubt not of recovering him, unless he should take refuge in Dalmatia[5]; and even in that

[4] A people contiguous to Dalmatia.

[5] Dalmatia made part of the province of Illyricum, but it was not, at this time, entirely subdued to the Roman government.

that case, I do not entirely despair. Farewel, and continue to love me.

From the camp at Narona[6], July the 11th.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 708.]

To TIRO.

YOU are not mistaken in supposing me desirous of your company; but, indeed, I am extremely apprehensive of your venturing upon so long a journey. The abstinence you have been obliged to observe, the evacuations you have undergone, together with the violence of your distemper itself, have too much impaired your strength for so great a fatigue; and any negligence after disorders so severe as yours, is generally attended with consequences of the most dangerous kind. You cannot reach Cuma in less than two days, and it will cost you five more to complete your expedition. But I purpose to be with you at Formia, towards the end of this month; and, I hope, my dear Tiro, it will not be your fault if I should not have the satisfaction of finding you perfectly recovered.

My studies languish for want of your assistance; however, the letter you sent by Acastus has

[6] In Liburnia, now called Croatia, and which formed part of Vatinius's government.

has somewhat enlivened them. Pompeius is now here, and presses me much to read to him some of my compositions; but I jocosely, though at the same time truly assure him, that all my Muses are silent in your absence. I hope, therefore, you will prepare to attend them with your usual good offices. You may depend upon mine in the article, and at the time I promised; for, as I taught you the etymology of the word *fides*, be assured I shall act up to its full import. Take care, I charge you, to re-establish your health; mine is perfectly well. Adieu.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 708.]

To Varro.

To importune the execution of a promise, is a sort of ill-manners, of which the populace themselves, unless they are particularly instigated for that purpose, are seldom guilty[7]. I cannot, however, forbear, I will not say to demand, but to remind you of a favour, which you long since gave me reason to expect. To this

[7] This alludes to those promises of public shews, which were frequently made to the people by the magistrates, and others who affected popularity; some particular instances of which have been occasionally produced in the course of the preceding remarks.

this end, I have sent you four admonitors[8]; but admonitors, perhaps, whom you will not look upon as extremely modest. They are certain philosophers, whom I have chosen from among the disciples of the later academy[9]; and confidence, you know, is the characteristic of this sect[1]. I am apprehensive, therefore, that you may consider them as so many importunate duns, when my meaning only is, that they should present themselves before you as modest petitioners. But to drop my metaphor, I have long denied myself the satisfaction of addressing to you some of my works, in expectation of receiving a compliment of the same kind from yourself. I waited, therefore, in order to make you a return, as nearly as possible, of the same nature. But, as I am willing to impute your delaying this favour to the desire of rendering it so much the more perfect, I could no longer refrain from telling the world, in the best

[8] These were dialogues entitled *Academica*, which appear from hence to have originally consisted of four books, though there is only part of one now remaining.

[9] The followers of the Academic philosophy were divided into two sects, called the *old* and the *new*. The founder of the former was Plato; of the latter, Arcesilas. The principal dispute between them, seems to have related to the degree of evidence upon which human knowledge is founded; the earlier Academics maintaining that some propositions were certain; the latter, that none were more than probable. *Vid. Academ.* 1. *passim.*

[1] Alluding to their practice of questioning all opinions, and assenting to none.

best manner I was able, that we are united both in our affections and in our studies. With this view, I have drawn up a dialogue which I suppose to have passed between you and myself, in conjunction with Atticus, and have laid the scene in your Cuman villa. The part I have assigned to you, is to defend, (what, if I mistake not, you approve) the sentiments of Antiochus[2], as I have chosen myself to maintain the principles of Philo[3]. You will wonder to find, perhaps, in the perusal of this piece, that I have represented a conversation, which, in truth, we never had; but you must remember the privilege which dialogue writers have always assumed.

And now, my dear Varro, let me hope that we shall hereafter enjoy together many of these philosophical conversations. If we have too long neglected them, the public occupations in which we were engaged, must be our apology; but the time is now arrived when we have no such excuse

[2] A philosopher at Athens, whose lectures Varro had formerly attended. He maintained the doctrines of the *old* Academy. *Cic. Academ.* 1. 3.

[3] A Greek philosopher, who professed the sceptical principles of the *new* Academy. Antiochus, mentioned in the preceding note, had been bred up under him, though he afterwards became a convert to the opposite sect. Cicero took the sceptical part in this dialogue, not as being agreeable to his own sentiments, but in order to pay Varro the greater compliment of maintaining the more rational opinion. *Academ. ubi sup. ad Att.* xiii. 19.

cuse to plead. May we, then, exercise these speculations together, under a fixed and peaceable government, at least, if not under one of the most eligible kind! Though, indeed, if that were to prove the case, far other employments would engage our honourable labours. But, as affairs are at present situated, what is there else that can render life desirable? For my own part, it is with difficulty I endure it, even with all the advantages of their powerful assistance; but, without them, it would be utterly insupportable. But we shall talk farther and frequently upon this subject when we meet; in the mean time, I give you joy of the new habitation you have purchased, and highly approve of your removal. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 708.]

To Tiro.

Why should you not direct your letters to me with the familiar superscription which one friend generally uses to another? However, if you are unwilling to hazard the envy which this privilege may draw upon you, be it as you think proper; though, for my own part, it is a maxim which I have generally pursued with respect

respect to myself, to treat envy with the utmost disregard.

I rejoice that you found so much benefit by your sudorific; and should the air of Tusculum be attended with the same happy effect, how infinitely will it increase my fondness for that favourite scene! If you love me, then, (and if you do not, you are undoubtedly the most successful of all dissemblers) consecrate your whole time to the care of your health; which, hitherto, indeed, your assiduous attendance upon myself, has but too much prevented. You well know the rules which it is necessary you should observe for this purpose, and I need not tell you that your diet should be light, and your exercises moderate; that you should keep your body open, and your mind amused. Be it your care, in short, to return to me perfectly recovered, and I shall ever afterwards not only love you, but Tusculum so much the more ardently.

I wish you could prevail with your neighbour to take my garden, as it will be the most effectual means of vexing that rascal Helico. This fellow, although he paid a thousand sesterces[5] for the rent of a piece of cold barren ground, that had not so much as a wall or a shed upon it,

[5] About 8l. of our money.

it, or was supplied with a single drop of water, has yet the assurance to laugh at the price I require for mine, notwithstanding all the money I have laid out upon improvements. But let it be your business to spirit the man into our terms, as it shall be mine to make the same artful attack upon Otho.

Let me know what you have done with respect to the fountain; though, possibly, this wet season may now have over-supplied it with water. If the weather should prove fair, I will send the dial, together with the books you desire. But how happened it that you took none with you? Was it that you were employed in some poetical composition upon the model of your admired Sophocles? If so, I hope you will soon oblige the world with your performance.

Ligurius, Cæsar's great favourite, is dead. He was a very worthy man, and much my friend. Let me know when I may expect you; in the mean time be careful of your health. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

To Quintus Valerius Orca[9].

I have the strongest attachment to the citizens of Volaterræ[1], as a body of men, who, having received great obligations from me, have abundantly returned them. Their good offices, indeed, have never been wanting in any season of my life, whether of adversity or prosperity. But were I entirely void of all personal connexions with this community, I should, nevertheless, merely from my great affection towards yourself, and in return to that which I am sensible you equally bear for me, most earnestly recommend them to your protection; especially as they have, in some sort, a more than common claim to your justice. For, in the first place, the gods themselves seem to have interposed in their behalf, when they so wonderfully escaped from the persecutions of Sylla;

[9] He was prætor in the year of Rome 697, and at the expiration of his office obtained the government of Africa.—Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he took possession of Sardinia, in the name of Cæsar, by whom he was at this time appointed one of the commissioners for dividing those estates, with which he proposed, upon his return from Spain, to reward the valour and fidelity of his soldiers. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 384.

[1] A city in Tuscany.

Sylla[2]: and, in the next, the whole body of the Roman people expressed the warmest concern for their interest, when I stood forth as their advocate in my consulship. For, when the tribunes were endeavouring to carry a most iniquitous law for the distribution of the lands belonging to this city, I found it extremely easy to persuade the republic to favour the rights of a community which fortune had so remarkably protected. And as Cæsar, in the Agrarian law, which he procured during his first consulate[3], shewed his approbation of the services I had thus performed for them, by expressly exempting their lands from all future impositions, I cannot suppose that he, who is perpetually displaying new instances of his generosity, should intend to resume those which his former bounty has bestowed. As you have followed, then, his party and his power with so much honour to yourself, it should seem agreeable to your usual prudence, to follow him likewise in this instance of his generosity, or certainly, at least, to leave this matter entirely to his own decision. One thing I am sure you can

[2] They held out a siege of two years against the troops of Sylla, who in vain endeavoured to compel them to submit to his edict for the confiscation of their lands. *Quartier.*

[3] The law alluded to seems to have been a branch of that proposed by Rullus; an account of which has been given in these remarks. See rem. 13. p. 165. vol. I.

can by no means doubt; and that is, whether you should wish to fix so worthy and so illustrious a corporation in your interest, who are distinguished for their inviolable adherence to their friends. Thus far I have endeavoured to persuade you to take these people under your protection, for your own sake; but, that you may not imagine I have no other plea to urge in their favour, I will now request it also for mine. You cannot, in truth, confer upon me a more acceptable service, than by proving yourself the friend and guardian of their interests. I recommend, therefore, to your justice and humanity the possessions of a city which have been hitherto preserved by the peculiar providence of the gods, as well as by the particular favour of the most distinguished personages in the whole Roman commonwealth. If it were in my power as effectually to serve those who place themselves under my patronage, as it once was, there is no good office I would not exert, there is no opposition I would not encounter, in order to assist the Volaterranians. But I flatter myself I have still the same interest with you, that I formerly enjoyed with the world in general. Let me entreat you, then, by all the powerful ties of our friendship, to give these citizens reason to look upon it as a providential circumstance,

circumstance, that the person who is appointed to execute this commission, happens to be one with whom their constant patron has the greatest influence. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 708.]

To LEPTA.

I AM glad that Macula has acted agreeably to the good offices I have a right to expect from him, by offering me the use of his house. I always thought the man's Falernian[6] was well enough for road-wine, and only doubted whether he had sufficient room to receive my retinue: besides, there is something in the situation of his villa that does not displease me.--- However, I do not give up my design upon Petrinum[7]. But it has too many charms to be used only as an occasional lodging; its beauties deserve a much longer stay.

Balbus is confined with a very severe fit of the gout, and does not admit any visitors; so that I have not been able to see him since you left Rome. However, I have talked with Oppius concerning your request to be appointed one of the

[6] This was a favourite wine among the Romans, which took its name from Falernus, a little hill in Campania, where the grape was produced.

[7] A town in Campania, where Lepta had a villa.

the managers of Cæsar's games[8]. But, in my opinion, it would be most advisable not to undertake this trouble; as you will by no means find it subservient to the point you have in view: for Cæsar is surrounded with such a multitude of pretenders to his friendship, that he is more likely to lessen, than increase, the number; especially where a man has no higher service to recommend him, than what arises from little offices of this kind; a circumstance, too, which Cæsar, possibly, may never be acquainted with. But if he should, he would look upon himself rather as having conferred, than received, a favour. Nevertheless, I will try if this affair can be managed in such a manner as to give you any reasonable hope that it will answer your purpose; otherwise, I think, you should be so far from desiring the employment, that you ought by all means to avoid it.

I believe I shall stay some time at Astura[9], as I purpose to wait there the arrival of Cæsar[1]. Farewel.

LETTER

[8] These were games which Cæsar proposed to exhibit in the several quarters of Rome, upon his return from Spain, in honour of his victory over the sons of Pompey. *Suet. in vit. Jul.*

[9] A town in the *Campagna di Roma*, situated near the sea-coast, between Civita Vecchia, and Monte Circello, where Cicero had a villa. It was about two years after the date of this letter, that Cicero was murdered near this villa, by the order of Antony.

[1] From Spain.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA[1].

I AM not displeased to find that the world is apprised of the friendship which subsists between us. But it is not, you may well imagine, from any vain ostentation of this kind, that I interrupt you in the honourable discharge of that troublesome and important commission which Cæsar has entrusted to your care. On the contrary, notwithstanding that the share I enjoy in your affection is so generally known, as to occasion many applications to me, yet I would not be tempted, by any popular motives, to break in upon you in the execution of your office. However, I could not refuse the solicitations of Curtius, as he is one with whom I have been intimately connected from his earliest youth. I took a very considerable part in the misfortunes he suffered from the unjust persecution of Sylla; and when it seemed agreeable to the general sense of the people, that my friend, together with the rest of those who, in conjunction with himself, had been deprived both of their fortunes and their country, should be

[1] See rem. 9. on let. 16. of this B.

be restored, at least, to the latter; I assisted him, for that purpose, to the utmost of my power. Upon his return, he invested all that remained to him from this general wreck of his substance, in the purchase of an estate at Volaterræ; of which, if he should be dispossessed, I know not how he will support the senatorial rank to which Cæsar has lately advanced him. It would be an extreme hardship, indeed, if he should sink in wealth, as he rises in honours; and it seems altogether inconsistent, that he should lose his estate in consequence of Cæsar's general order for the distribution of these lands in question; at the same time, that, by his particular favour, he has gained a seat in the senate. But I will not alledge all that I well might, for the equity of my friend's cause, lest, by enlarging on the justice, I should seem to derogate from the favour of your compliance with my request. I most earnestly conjure you, then, to consider this affair of Curtius as my own; to protect his interest as you would mine in the same circumstances; and to be assured, that whatever services you shall thus confer upon my friend, I shall esteem as a personal obligation to myself. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 708.]

To FABIUS GALLUS[2].

INSTANCES of your friendship are perpetually meeting me wherever I turn; and I have lately, in particular, had occasion to experience them in regard to my affair with Tigellius[3]. I perceive by your letter, that it has occasioned you much concern, and I am greatly obliged by this proof of your affection. But let me give you a short history how the case stands. It was Cipius, I think, that formerly said "*I am* "*not asleep for every man*[4];" neither am I, my dear Gallus, so meanly complaisant as to be the humble servant of every minion. The truth of it is, I am the humble servant of none, and am so far from being under the necessity of submitting to any servile compliances, in order to preserve my friendship with

[2] This is the same person to whom the 11th letter of the first book is addres-ed.

[3] Tigellius was an extravagant debauchee, who, by his pleasantry, his skill in music, his agreeable voice, together with his other soft and fashionable qualifications, had extremely ingratiated himself with Cæsar.

[4] Cipius was a complaisant husband, who, upon some occasions, would affect to nod, whilst his wife was awake and more agreeably employed. But a slave coming into the room when he was in one of these obliging slumbers, and attempting to carry off a flaggon that stood upon the table, "Sirrah," says he, "*non omnibus dormio.*"

with Cæsar's favourites; that there is not one of them, except this Tigellius, who does not treat me with greater marks of respect than I ever received, even when I was thought to enjoy the highest popularity and power. But I think myself extremely fortunate in being upon ill terms with a man who is more corrupted than his own native air[5], and whose character is notorious, I suppose, to the whole world, by the poignant verses of the satiric Calvus[6]. But to let you see upon what slight grounds he has taken offence, I had promised, you must know, to plead the cause of his grandfather Phameas. which I undertook, however, merely in friendship to the man himself. Accordingly Phameas called upon me, in order to tell me that the judge had fixed a day for his trial: which happened to be the very same on which I was obliged to attend as advocate for Sextius. I acquainted him, therefore, that I could not possibly give him my assistance at the time he mentioned; but that if any other had been appointed,

[5] Tigellius was a native of Sardinia: an island noted for its noxious air. See rem. 8. p. 246. vol. ii.

[6] Fate seems to have decreed that Tigellius should not want a poet to deliver his character down to posterity: for, although the verses of Calvus are lost, those of Horace remain, in which Tigellius is delineated with all those inimitable strokes of ridicule which distinguish the masterly hand of that polite satirist. *Vid. Hor. satyr. lib.* 1. *sat.* 2 & 3.

pointed, I most assuredly would not have failed. Phameas, nevertheless, in the conscious pride, no doubt, of having a grandson that could pipe and sing to some purpose, left me with an air that seemed to speak indignation. And now, having thus stated my case, and shewn you the injustice of this songster's complaints, may I not properly say with the old proverb, "*So many* "*Sardinians, so many rival rogues*[7]."

I beg you would send me your Cato[8], which I am extremely desirous of reading. It is, indeed, some reflection upon us both, that I have not yet enjoyed that pleasure. Farewel.

LETTER

[7] The literal interpretation of this proverb is, *you have Sardinians to sell, each a greater rogue than the other*; but a shorter turn has been adopted in the translation, in order to bring it nearer to the conciseness of the proverbial style. This proverb took its rise (as Manutius observes) from the great number of Sardinian slaves with which the markets of Italy were overstocked, upon the reduction of that island by Titus Sempronius Gracchus, in the year of Rome 512.

[8] The character of Cato was, at this time, the fashionable topic of declamation at Rome: and every man that pretended to genius and eloquence, furnished the public with an invective or panegyric upon that illustrious Roman, as party or patriotism directed his pen. In this respect, as well as in all others, Cato's reputation seems to have been attended with every advantage, that any man who is ambitious of a good name can desire; for the next honour to being applauded by the worthy, is to be abused by the worthless.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 708.]

To Cluvius[a].

In the visit which, agreeably to our friendship and that great respect with which you always treat me, I received from you upon your setting out for Gaul, we had some general discourse relating to those estates in that province which are held of the city of Atella[b]: and I then expressed how much I was concerned for the interest of that corporation. But, in confidence of the singular affection you bear me, and in performance of a duty which it is incumbent upon me to discharge, I thought proper to write to you more fully upon this affair, as it is, indeed, of the last importance to a community with which I have the strongest connexions. I am very sensible, at the same time, both of the occasion and extent of your commission, and that Cæsar has not entrusted you, in the execution of it, with any discretionary power. I limit my request, therefore, by what I imagine is no less within the

[a] He was one of the commissioners nominated by Cæsar for settling the division of the lands for the purposes mentioned in note 9 on let. 16 of this Book. The department assigned to him was Cisalpine Gaul.

[b] A city in Campania, situated between Naples and Capua: it is now called *Santo Arpino*.

the bounds of your authority, than I am persuaded it is not beyond what you would be willing to do for my sake. In the first place, then, I entreat you to believe, what is truly the fact, that the whole revenues of this corporation arise from these lands in question, and that the heavy impositions with which they are at present burthened, have laid them under the greatest difficulties. But although, in this respect, they may seem to be in no worse condition than many other cities in Italy; yet, believe me, their case is unhappily distinguished by several calamitous circumstances peculiar to themselves. I forbear, however, to enumerate them, lest, in lamenting the miseries of my friends, I should be thought to glance at those persons whom it is, by no means, my design to offend. Indeed, if I had not conceived strong hopes that I shall be able to prevail with Cæsar in favour of this city, there would be no occasion for my present very earnest application to you. But as I am well persuaded that Cæsar will have regard to the dignity of this illustrious corporation; to the zeal which they bear for his interest; and, above all, to the equity of their cause; I venture to entreat you to leave the decision of this affair entirely to his own determination[c]. If I could produce no precedent

[c] Cæsar was not yet returned out of Spain.

precedent of your having already complied with a request of this nature; it is a request which I should have nevertheless have made, but I have so much the stronger hopes that you will not refuse me in the present instance, as I am informed you have granted the same favour to the citizens of Regium[d]. It is true, you have some sort of connexion with that city. But, in justice to your affection towards me, I cannot but hope, that what you have yielded to your own clients, you will not deny to mine, especially as it is for these alone that I solicit you, notwithstanding so many others of my friends are in the same situation. I dare say I need not assure you, that it is neither upon any ambitious motives that I apply to you in their behalf, nor without having just reason to be their advocate. The fact is, I have great obligations to them: and there has been no season of my life in which they have not given me signal proofs of their affection. As you are sensible, therefore, that the interest of this corporation, with which I am so strongly connected, is greatly concerned in the success of my present request, I conjure you, by all the powerful ties of our mutual friendship, and by all the sentiments of your humanity,

[d] Now called Regio, a maritime city in Calabria.

nity, to comply with these my intercessions in their behalf. If, after having obtained this favour, I should succeed likewise (as I have reason to hope) in my application to Cæsar, I shall consider all the advantages of that success as owing entirely to yourself. Nor shall I be less obliged to you though I should not succeed, as you will have contributed all in your power, at least, that I might. In one word, you will, by these means, not only perform a most acceptable service to myself, but for ever attach to the interest both of you and your family, a most illustrious and grateful city. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 708.]

To FABIUS GALLUS.

YOU need be in no pain about your letter. So far from having destroyed it, as you imagine, it is perfectly safe, and you may call for it whenever you please.

Your admonitions are extremely obliging, and I hope you will always continue them with the same freedom. You are apprehensive, I perceive, that if I should render this Tigellius my enemy, he may, probably, make me merrier than I like, and teach me the *Sardinian*

laugh.

laugh[9]. In return to your proverb, let me present you with another, and advise you to "*throw aside the pencil*[1]." For our *master*[2] will be here much sooner than was expected: and I am afraid he should send the man who ventures to paint Cato in such favourable colours, to join the hero of his panegyric in the shades below.

Nothing, my dear Gallus, can be expressed with greater strength and elegance than that part of your letter which begins, "*The rest are fallen*, &c." But I whisper this applause in your

[9] It is said, there was a sea weed frequently found upon the coasts of Sardinia, the poisonous quality whereof occasioned a convulsive motion in the features which had the appearance of laughter; and that hence the *Sardinian laugh* became a proverb usually applied to those who concealed a heavy heart under a gay countenance. Gallus seems to have cited this proverb as a caution to Cicero not to be too free in his railleries upon Tigellius: and there is a peculiar propriety in his application of it, as Tigellius was a Sardinian. I must acknowledge, however, that I have departed from the sentiments of the commentators, in supposing that Tigellius is the person here alluded to: they all imagine, on the contrary, that it is Cæsar. But this letter seems evidently to be upon the same subject as the 19th of this book: and was, probably, an answer to one which Gallus had written in return to that epistle.

[1] This proverb, Victorious supposes, had its rise from the schools of the painters: where the young pupils, who, in the absence of their master were amusing themselves, perhaps, in drawing their pencils over the piece on which he was at work, called upon each other when they saw him returning to lay them aside. Cicero, in the application of this proverb, alludes to the panegyric which Gallus had written upon Cato. See rem. 8. on the 19th letter of this book.

[2] Cæsar: who was at this time upon his return from Spain.

your ear; and desire it may be a secret, even to your freedman Apella. Nobody, indeed, writes in this manner except ourselves. How far it is to be defended or not, I may consider, perhaps, another time: but this, at least, is indisputable, that it is a style entirely our own. Persevere then in these compositions, as the best and surest method of forming your eloquence. As for myself, I now employ some part even of my nights, in exercises of the same kind. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 708.]

To MARCUS RUTILIUS[e].

IN the consciousness of that affection I bear you, and from the proofs I have experienced of yours, I do not scruple to ask a favour which a principle of gratitude obliges me to request. To what degree I value Publius Sextius[f], is a circumstance with which my own heart is best acquainted: but how greatly I ought to do so, both you and all the world are perfectly well apprised. As he has been informed by some of his friends, that you are, upon all occasions extremely

[e] He was employed in a commission of the same kind with that of Orca and Cluvius, to whom the 16th and 20th letters of this book are addressed.

[f] See rem. 9. p. 163. vol. 1.

tremely well disposed to oblige me, he has desired I would write to you in the strongest terms in behalf of Caius Albinius, a person of senatorian rank. Publius Sextius married his daughter: and he has a son by her, who is a youth of great merit. I mention these circumstances, to let you see, that Sextius has no less reason to be concerned for the interest of Albinius, than I have for that of Sextius. But to come to the point.

Marcus Laberius purchased, under an edict of Cæsar, the confiscated estate of Plotius, which he afterwards assigned over to Albinius, in satisfaction of a debt. If I were to say, that it is not for the credit of the government to include this estate among those lands which are directed to be divided; I might seem to talk rather in the style of a man who is dictating, than of one who is making a request. But as Cæsar thought it necessary to ratify the sales and mortgages that had been made of those estates which were confiscated during Sylla's administration, in order to render his own purchasers of the same kind so much the more secure; if these forfeited lands, which were put up to auction by his particular order, should be included in the general division he is now making, will it not discourage all future bidders? I only hint this, however, for your own judicious

judicious consideration. In the mean time, I most earnestly entreat you not to dispossess Albinius of the farms which Laberius has thus conveyed to him: and be assured, as nothing can be more equitable than this request, so I make it in all the warmth and sincerity of my heart. It will afford me, indeed, not only much satisfaction, but in some sort, likewise, great honour, if Sextius, to whose friendship I am so deeply indebted, should have an opportunity, through my means, of serving a man to whom he is thus nearly related. Again and again, therefore, I entreat your compliance; and as there is no instance wherein you can more effectually oblige me, so you may depend upon finding me infinitely sensible of the obligation. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 708.]

To VATINIUS.

I AM by no means surprised to find that you are sensible of my services[3]. On the contrary, I perfectly well knew, and have, upon all occasions, declared, that no man ever possessed so grateful

[3] The services here alluded to, are, probably, those which Vatinius solicited in the 12th letter of this book. Cicero's answer to that letter is lost, as well as Vatinius's reply: but the present epistle seems to have been written in return to the latter.

grateful a heart. You have, indeed, not only acknowledged, but abundantly returned my good offices: be assured, therefore, you will always experience, in me, the same friendly zeal in every other article of your concerns. Accordingly, after having received your last letter, wherein you recommend that excellent woman, your wife, to my protection[4]; I immediately desired our friend Sura to acquaint her, that if, in any instance, she had occasion for my services, I hoped she would let me know; and that she might depend upon my executing her requests with the utmost warmth and fidelity. This promise I shall very punctually fulfil: and if it should prove necessary, I will wait upon her myself. In the mean time I beg you would inform her, by your own hand, that I shall not look upon any office as difficult, or below my character, wherein my assistance can avail her: as, indeed, there is no employment in which I could be engaged upon your account, that I should not think both easy and honourable[5].

I entreat

[4] If Vatinius was not a more tender husband, than he appears to have been a son, this lady might have had occasion for Cicero's protection, in some instances, which she would not, perhaps, have been very willing to own: for among other enormities that are laid to the charge of Vatinius, it is said, that he had the cruelty, as well as the impiety, to lay violent hands on his mother. *Orat. in Vatin.* 7.

[5] Who would imagine that this is the same person of whom Cicero has elsewhere said, that "No one could look upon him

I entreat you to settle the affair with Dionysius: and any assurance that you shall think proper to give him, in my name, I will religiously perform. But if he should continue obstinate, you must e'en seize him as a prisoner of war, to grace your triumphal entry.

May a thousand curses fall upon these Dalmatians for giving you so much trouble. However, I join with you in being well persuaded, that you will soon reduce them to obedience: and as they have always been esteemed a warlike people, their submission will greatly contribute to the glory of your arms. Farewel.

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"him without a sigh, or speak of him without execration: "that he was the dread of his neighbours, the disgrace of his "kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in gene-"ral." Indeed, when Cicero gave this character of Vatinius, he was acting as an advocate at the bar, and endeavouring to destroy his credit as a witness against his friend and client. But whatever allowances may be made, in general, for rhetorical exaggerations, yet history shews that, in the present instance, Cicero's eloquence did not transgress the limits of truth. For Paterculus has painted the character of Vatinius in the same disadvantageous colours, and represented him as the lowest and most worthless of men. *Orat. in Vatin.* 16. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 69.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 708.]

To Cornificius[6].

It was with great satisfaction I found, by your letter, that you allow me a place in your thoughts: and it is by no means as doubting the constancy of your friendship, but merely in compliance with a customary form, that I entreat you to preserve me still in your remembrance.

It is reported that some commotions have arisen in Syria: at which I am more alarmed upon your account than our own, as you are placed so much nearer to the consequences. As to affairs at Rome, we are enjoying that sort of repose which I am sure you would be better pleased to hear was interrupted by some vigorous measures for the public welfare. And I hope

[6] Quintus Cornificius, in the year 705, obtained the proconsulship of Illyricum. In the following year he was removed from thence into some other province, the name of which is unknown: but it appears to have been contiguous to Syria. In this province he resided when the present and twenty-sixth letter of this book were written to him. He was afterwards appointed governor of Africa: as appears by several letters addressed to him in the next book: and which will afford a farther occasion of speaking of him. He had greatly distinguished himself in the art of eloquence: and is supposed to have been the author of those rhetorical pieces which are mentioned by Quintilian, as written by a person of this name. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 446. 454. 466. *Quint.* iii. 1.

hope it shortly will: as I find it is Cæsar's intention to concert methods for that purpose.

Your absence has inspired me with the courage of engaging in some compositions, which otherwise I should scarce have ventured to undertake: though there are some among them which even my judicious friend, perhaps, would not disapprove. The last that I have finished is upon a subject, on which I have frequently had occasion to think that your notions were not altogether agreeable to mine: it is an inquiry into the best species of eloquence[7]. Though I must add, that whenever you have differed from me, it was always with the complaisance of a master-artist towards one who is not wholly unskilled in his art. I should be extremely glad that this piece might receive your suffrage: if not for its own sake, at least for its author's. To this end, I shall let your family know, that, if they think proper, they may have it transcribed, in order to send it to you. I imagine, indeed, although you should not approve my sentiments, yet that any thing which comes from my hand, will be acceptable in your present inactive situation.

When you recommend your character and honours to my protection, it is merely, I dare say,

[7] This is, probably, the same piece, of which an account has been given in rem. 10. on let. 15. Book 10.

say, for the sake of form, and not as thinking it in the least necessary. Be assured, the affection which, I am persuaded, mutually subsists between us, would be sufficient to render me greatly zealous in your service. But abstractedly from all motives of friendship, were I to consider only the noble purposes to which you have applied your exalted talents, and the great probability of your attaining the highest dignity in the commonwealth[8]: there is no man to whom I should give the preference in my good offices, and few that I should place in the same rank with yourself. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 708.]

Curius[5] to Cicero.

I look upon myself as a sort of property, the possession of which belongs, 'tis true, to Atticus; but all the advantage that can be derived from it is wholly yours. If Atticus, therefore, were inclined to dispose of his right in me, I am afraid he could only pass me off in a lot with some more profitable commodity: whereas, if you should have the same inclination, how greatly would it enhance my value to be proclaimed

[8] The consular office.

[5] See rem. 6. p. 361. vol. ii.

claimed as one entirely formed into what he is, by your care and kindness? I entreat you then to continue to protect the work of your own hands, and to recommend me in the strongest terms to the successor of Sulpicius in this province[6]. This will be the surest means of putting it in my power to obey your commands of returning to you in the spring: as it will facilitate the settling of my affairs in such a manner, that I may be able, by that time, to transport my effects, with safety, into Italy. But I hope, my illustrious friend, you will not communicate this letter to Atticus: for as he imagines I am much too honest a fellow to pay the same compliment to you both; suffer him, I beseech you, to remain in this favourable error. Adieu, my dear patron, and salute Tiro in my name.

Oct. the 29th.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 708.]

To Cornificius.

I shall follow the same method in answering your letter, which I have observed that you great orators sometimes practise in your replies, and begin with the last article first. You accuse me

[6] Greece.

me, then, of being a negligent correspondent; but, believe me, I have never once omitted writing whenever any of your family gave me notice that a courier was setting out to you.

I have so high an opinion of your prudence, that I expected you would act in the manner your very obliging letter assures me you intend, and that you would not determine your measures, till you should know where this paltry Bassus[7] designed to make an irruption. I entreat you to continue to give me frequent intelligence of all your purposes and motions, as well as of whatever else is going forward in your part of the world.

It was with much regret that I parted with you, when you left Italy; but I comforted myself in the persuasion, that you were not only going into a scene of profound tranquillity, but leaving one that was threatened with great commotions. The reverse, however, has proved to be the fact, and war has broken out in your quarters, at the same time that it is extinguished in ours. But the peace we enjoy is attended, nevertheless, with many disgusting circumstances, and disgusting, too, even to Cæsar himself.

[7] Cæcilius Bassus was a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, who, after the battle of Pharsalia, fled into Syria; where he was, at this time, raising some very formidable commotions against the authority of Cæsar. *Dio.* xlvii. *p.* 342.

self. It is the certain consequence, indeed, of all civil wars, that the vanquished must not only submit to the will of the victor, but to the will of those also who assisted him in his conquest. But I am now become so totally callous, that I saw Bursa[8], the other day, at the games which Cæsar exhibited, without the least emotion; and was present with equal patience at the farces of Publius and Laberius[9]. In short, I am sensible of nothing so much as of the want of a judicious friend with whom I may freely laugh at what is thus passing amongst us. And such a friend I shall find in you, if you will hasten your return hither; a circumstance which I look upon to be as much your own interest, as I am sure it is mine. Farewel.

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[8] Cicero's inveterate enemy, who had been banished some years before, but had lately been recalled by Cæsar. See rem. 5. p. 263. vol. 1.

[9] For an account of Laberius, see rem. 1. p. 223. vol. 1. Publius Syrus had, likewise, distinguished himself upon the Roman stage in those buffoon pieces which they called their *mimes*. But, although these rival poets and actors were both of them excellent in their way; yet, it appears, that their humour was too low and inelegant to suit the just and refined taste of Cicero. *Macrob. Saturn.* ii. 7.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 708.]

To Dolabella.

I rejoice to find that Baiæ[2] has changed its nature, and is become, on a sudden, so wondrous *salutary*[3]. But, perhaps, it is only in complaisance to my friend, that it thus suspends its usual effects, and will resume its wonted qualities the moment you depart. I shall not be surprised, should this prove to be the case; nor wonder, indeed, if heaven and earth should alter their general tendencies, for the sake of a man who has so much to recommend him to the favour of both[a].

I did

[2] See rem. 7. p. 234. vol. ii.

[3] Dolabella had probably informed Cicero, in a letter from Baiæ, of the *salutary* effects he experienced from the waters of that place; in answer to which, Cicero plays upon the ambiguous meaning of the word *salubres*, and applies, in a moral sense, what Dolabella had used in a medicinal.

[a] If no other memoirs of these times remained than what might be collected from the letters of Cicero, it is certain, they would greatly mislead us in our notions of the principal actors, who now appeared upon the theatre of the Roman republic. Thus, for instance, who would imagine that the person here represented as interesting heaven and earth in his welfare, was, in fact, a monster of lewdness and inhumanity? But how must the reader's astonishment be raised when he is informed, that it is Cicero, himself, who tells us so? *Dolabellæ—a* puero *pro diliciis crudelitas fuit*, (says our author in one of his Philippic orations) *deinde ea libidinum turpitudo ut in hoc sit semper ipse lætatus, quod ea faceret quæ sibi objici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo.* If this was a true

I did not imagine, that I had preserved, among my papers, the trifling speech which I made in behalf of Deiotarus[4]; however, I have found it, and sent it to you, agreeably to your request. You will read it as a performance, which was, by no means, of consequence enough to deserve much care in the composition; and, to say truth, I was willing to make my old friend and host a present of the same indelicate kind with his own.

May you ever preserve a virtuous and a generous mind! that the moderation and integrity of your conduct, may prove a living reproach to the violence and injustice of some others amongst our contemporaries! Farewel.

a true picture of Dolabella, what shall be said in excuse of Cicero, for having disposed of his daughter to him in marriage? Should any too partial advocate of Cicero's moral character endeavour to palliate this unfavourable circumstance, by telling us, that he had never enquired into Dolabella's conduct, might it not justly be suspected, that he meant to banter? Yet, this is the very reason which Cicero himself assigns, in the oration from whence the above passage is cited. *Et hic, dii immortales! aliquando fuit meus! occulta enim erat vitia non* INQUIRENTI. Strange! that a man who loved his daughter even to a degree of extravagance, should be so careless in an article wherein her happiness——But I need not finish the rest; where facts speak for themselves, let me be spared the pain of a comment. *Vid. Philip.* xi. 14.

[4] See rem. 2. p. 329. vol. i.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

Vatinius to Cicero.

I have not been able to do any thing to the purpose, with regard to your librarian, Dionysius[1]; and, indeed, my endeavours have hitherto proved so much the less effectual, as the severity of the weather, which obliged me to retreat out of Dalmatia, still detains me here. However, I will not desist till I have gotten him into my custody. But surely I am always to find some difficulty or other in executing your commands, why else did you write to me— I know not what, in favour of Catilius[2]? But avaunt, thou insidious tempter, with thy dangerous intercessions! And our friend Servilius, too, (for *mine* my heart prompts me to call him, as well as *yours*,) is, it seems, a joint petitioner with you in this request. Is it usual, then, I should be glad to know, with you orators, to be the advocates of such clients, and in such causes? Is it usual to plead in behalf

[1] See let. 12. p. 33. of this vol.

[2] This man was quæstor in the year 702; and, during the civil war, was entrusted with some naval command; but it appears, by the present letter, that he had turned pirate, and committed great cruelties and depredations upon the coasts of Illyricum. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 421.

behalf of the most cruel of the human race? in defence of a man who has murdered our fellow-citizens, plundered their houses, ravished their wives, and laid whole regions in desolation? This worthless wretch had the insolence, likewise, to take up arms against myself; and he is now, 'tis true, my prisoner. But tell me, my dear Cicero, in what manner can I act in this affair? I would not willingly refuse any thing to your request; and, as far as my own private resentment is concerned, I will, in compliance with your desires, remit the punishment I intended. But what shall I answer to those unhappy sufferers, who require satisfaction for the loss of their effects, and the destruction of their ships? who call for vengeance on the murderer of their brothers, their children, and their parents? Believe me, if I had succeeded to the impudence as well as to the office of Appius[3], I could not have the assurance to withstand their cries for justice. Nevertheless, I will do every thing that lies in my power to gratify your

[3] Manutius observes, that this is not the same Appius to whom the letters in the 3d book are addressed; and refers to a passage in Valerius Maximus, to prove, that he perished early in the civil wars. But so he undoubtedly might; and, nevertheless, be the same person here alluded to; for it by no means appears when, or in what post it was, that Vatinius succeeded to this Appius in question. Impudence, it is certain, was in the number of those qualities, which distinguished that Appius to whom the letters above-mentioned are written. *Vid. Ad Att.* iv. 18.

your inclinations. He is to be defended at his trial by Volusius: and, if his prosecutors can be vanquished by eloquence, there is great reason to expect that the force of your disciple's rhetoric will put them to flight.

I depend upon your being my advocate at Rome, if there should be any occasion. Cæsar, indeed, has not yet done me the justice to move for a public thanksgiving, for the success of my arms in Dalmatia: as if, in truth, I were not entitled to more, and might not justly claim the honour of a triumph! But as there are above threescore cities that have entered into an alliance with the Dalmatians, besides the twenty of which that country anciently consisted: if I am not to be honoured with a public thanksgiving, till I shall have taken every one of these considerable towns, I am by no means upon equal terms with the rest of our generals.

Immediately after the senate had appointed the former thanksgivings for my victories[4], I marched

[4] There is some difficulty in reconciling what Vatinius here says of a supplication having been decreed by the senate, with the complaint he makes above against Cæsar, for having delayed to move the house for that purpose. Some of the commentators, therefore, have suspected, that this is the beginning of a distinct letter; and others, that it is a postscript, written a considerable distance of time from the body of the epistle. But Mr. Ross has offered, I think, a much better solution, by supposing that the thanksgiving, mentioned

marched into Dalmatia, where I attacked, and made myself master of, six of their towns.--- One of these, which was of very considerable strength, I might fairly say that I took four several times: for it was surrounded by a fortification consisting of four different walls, which were defended by as many forts; through all which I forced my way to the citadel, which I likewise compelled to surrender. But the excessive severity of the cold, together with the deep snows that fell at the same time, obliged me to retreat; so that I had the mortification, my dear Cicero, to find myself under the necessity of abandoning my conquests, just as I was upon the point of finishing the war. I entreat you, then, if occasion should require, to be my advocate with Cæsar, and in every other respect to take my interest under your protection; in the assurance, that no man possesses an higher degree of affection for you than myself.

Narona, Dec. the 15th.

LETTER

mentioned in the present paragraph, was one which had been decreed on account of some former successes of Vatinius in his province; and that the thanksgiving, concerning which he complains of Cæsar's neglect, was one that he was now soliciting in honour of those successes in Dalmatia, of which he here gives an account.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 709.]

To Curius[1].

'Tis true, I once both advised and exhorted you to return into Italy; but I am so far from being in the same sentiments at present, that, on the contrary, I wish to escape myself,

To some blest clime remote from Pelop's race[2].

My

[1] This is an answer to the 25th letter of the foregoing book.

[2] Alluding to the Cæsarian party. See rem. 7. p. 362. vol. ii.

My heart, indeed, most severely reproaches me, for submitting to be the witness of their unworthy deeds. Undoubtedly, my friend, you long since foresaw our evil days approaching, when you wisely took your flight from these unhappy regions: for though it must needs be painful to hear a relation of what is going forward amongst us, yet far more intolerable it surely is, to be the sad spectator of so wretched a scene. One advantage, at least, you have certainly gained by your absence: it has spared you the mortification of being present at the late general assembly for the election of quæstors. At seven in the morning, the tribunal of Quintus Maximus, the consul, as they called him[3], was placed in the field of Mars[4]; when, news being brought of his sudden death, it was immediately removed. But Cæsar, notwithstanding he had taken the auspices[5] as for an assembly of the tribes, converted it into that of

[3] Cæsar (as Manutius observes) abdicated the consulship upon his late return from Spain, and arbitrarily appointed Quintus Maximus, together with Trebonius, consuls for the remaining part of the year. Maximus, therefore, not being legally elected, Cicero speaks of him as one whose title was acknowledged only by the prevailing faction.

[4] Where the poll for the election of magistrates was usually taken. It was situated on the banks of the Tiber.

[5] No assembly of the people could be regularly held, nor any public act performed, till the augurs had declared that the omens were favourable for the purpose in agitation.

of the centuries[6], and, at one in the afternoon, declared Caninius duly elected consul. Be it recorded, then, that, during the consulate of Caninius, no man had time to dine, and yet that there was not a single disturbance of any kind committed: for he was a magistrate, you must know, of such wonderful vigilance, that he never once slept throughout his whole administration. The truth of it is, his administration continued only to the end of the year, and both expired the very next morning. But, ridiculous as these transactions may appear to you, who are placed at so great a distance from them, believe me, you could not refrain from tears, if you were to see them in all their true and odious colours. How would you be affected, then, were I to mention the numberless instances of the same arbitrary kind which daily occur!

[6] The citizens of Rome were cast into three general divisions; into centuries, into curæ, and into tribes. Some account of the two latter has been already given in rem. 50. p. 202. and rem. 7. p. 474. vol. i. The former was an institution of Servius Tullius, who distributed the people into 193 centuries, according to the value of their respective possessions. These companies had a vote in all questions that came before the people assembled in this manner, and the majority of voices in each determined the suffrage of that particular century. But, as the patricians and the wealthiest citizens of the republic filled up 98 of these 189 classes, the inferior citizens were consequently deprived of all weight in the public deliberations. The prætors, consuls, and censors were elected by the people assembled in centuries; but the quæstors, ædiles, and tribunes, were chosen in an assembly of the tribes. *Dion. Halicarn.* iv. 20.

occur! For my own part, they would be utterly insupportable to me, had I not taken refuge in philosophy, and enjoyed, likewise, that friend[7] of ours for the companion of my studies, whose *property*, you tell me, you are[8].—However, since you assure me, at the same time, that all the benefit which can arise from you belongs solely to myself, I am perfectly well contented; for what can property give more?

Acilius, who is sent into Greece, at the head of some legions, as successor to Sulpicius, has great obligations to me; for I successfully defended him in two capital prosecutions, before the commencement of our public troubles. He is a man of a very grateful disposition, and one who, upon all occasions, treats me with much regard. Accordingly, I herewith send you a letter, which I have written to him in your favour, in the strongest terms; and I desire you will let me know what promises he shall give you in consequence of my recommendation. Farewel.

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[7] Atticus.

[8] See the beginning of Curius's letter to Cicero, p. 63. of this vol.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 709.]

To Auctus[9], Proconsul.

In confidence of that share you allow me in your esteem, and of which you gave me so many convincing proofs, during the times we continued together at Brundisium[1], I claim a sort of right of applying to you upon any occasion wherein I am particularly interested. I take the

[9] The commentators imagine that this person is the same whom Cicero mentions in the foregoing letter to have succeeded to Sulpicius in the government of Greece; and that, therefore, either instead of Auctus, the true reading is Acilius, or that he was called Acilius Auctus. But, though it is altogether impossible to determine who the person was to whom this letter is addressed, or in what year it was written, yet it seems highly probable that Acilius and Auctus were different men: for Cicero, in the preceding epistle, mentions Acilius as one on whom he had conferred some very important services: whereas, in the present letter, Cicero appears to have been the person obliged. Now it is by no means credible that our author, if he had ever done any good offices to Auctus, should have been totally silent upon a circumstance which would have given him a much higher claim to the favour he was requesting, than any which he produces. And the incredibility grows still stronger, when it is remembered that Cicero never fails to display his services upon all occasions in which he can with any propriety mention them. But on which side soever of this question the truth may lie, it is a point of such very little consequence, that perhaps it will scarce justify even this short remark.

[1] Probably during Cicero's residence in that city, upon his return into Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia; an account of which has been given in the foregoing observations.

the liberty, therefore, of writing to you, in behalf of Marcus Curius, a merchant at Patræ, with whom I am most intimately united. Many are the good offices which have mutually passed between us; and, what indeed is of the greatest weight, they reciprocally flowed from the most perfect affection. If, then, you have reason to promise yourself any advantage from my friendship; if you are inclined to render the obligations you have formerly conferred upon me, if possible, even still more valuable; in a word, if you are persuaded that I hold a place in the esteem of every person in your family, let these considerations induce you to comply with my request in favour of Curius. Receive him, I conjure you, under your protection, and preserve both his person and his property from every injury and every inconvenience to which they may be exposed. In the mean time, I will venture to assure you myself, (what all your family will, I doubt not, confirm) that you may depend upon deriving great satisfaction from my friendship, as well as much advantage from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER III.

[A. U. 709.]

To Curius.

Your letter affords me a very evident proof that I possess the highest share of your esteem, and that you are sensible how much you are endeared to me in return; both which I have ever been desirous should be placed beyond a doubt. Since, then, we are thus firmly assured of each other's affection, let us endeavour to vie in our mutual good offices; a contest in which I am perfectly indifferent on which side the superiority may appear.

I am well pleased that you had no occasion to deliver my letter to Acilius[2]. I find, likewise, that you had not much for the services of Sulpicius; having made so great a progress, it seems, in your affairs, as to have curtailed them (to use your own ludicrous expression) both of *head* and *feet*. I wish, however, you had spared the *latter*, that they might *proceed* a little faster, and give us an opportunity of one day seeing you again in Rome. We want you, indeed, in order to preserve that good old vein of pleasantry which is now, you may perceive, well-nigh

[2] See the latter end of the first letter in this book.

well-nigh worn out amongst us: insomuch that Atticus may properly enough say, as he often, you know used, "if it were not for two or "three of us, my friends, what would become "of the ancient glory of Athens!" Indeed, as the honour of being the chief support of Attic elegance devolved upon Pomponius[2], when you left Italy; so, in his absence, it has now descended upon me. Hasten your return, then, I beseech you, my friend, lest every spark of wit, as well as of liberty, should be irrecoverably extinguished with the republic. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 709.]

To Cornificius.

I have the satisfaction to find, by your very obliging letter, that my last was safely delivered. I doubted not of its affording you pleasure; and, therefore, was so much the more uneasy lest it should lose its way. You inform me, at the same time, that a war is broken out in Syria[3], and that Cæsar has given you the government of this province. I wish you much joy of your command, and hope success will attend

[2] Pomponius Atticus.
[3] See rem. 7. on let. 26. of the preceding book.

attend it: as, in full confidence of your wisdom and vigilance, I am well persuaded it will. Nevertheless, I am truly alarmed at what you mention concerning the invasion, which, it is suspected, the Parthians are meditating. I find by your letter, that the number of your forces is agreeable to what I should have conjectured: I hope, therefore, that these people will not put themselves in motion, till the legions which I hear are ordered to your assistance, shall arrive. But if you should not, even with these supplies, find yourself in a condition to face the enemy; I need not remind you to follow the maxim of your predecessor Marcus Bibulus, who, you know, during the whole time that the Parthians continued in your province, most gallantly shut himself up in a strong garrison[4]. Yet, after all, circumstances will best determine in what manner it will be proper for you to act: in the mean time I shall be extremely anxious, till I receive an account of your operations.

As

[4] This seems to be intended as a sneer upon the conduct of Bibulus. Cicero was governor of Cilicia when Bibulus commanded in Syria, and they both solicited, at the same time, the honour of a public thanksgiving for the success of their respective arms. Cato gave his suffrage, upon this occasion, in favour of Bibulus; but refused it to Cicero; a preference which extremely exasperated the latter, and which was, probably, the principal cause of that contempt with which he speaks of Bibulus in the present passage. See vol. ii. p. 50. rem. 2.

As I have never omitted any opportunity of writing to you, I hope you will observe the same punctuality with respect to me. But above all, let me desire you to represent me in your letters to your friends and family as one who is entirely yours. Farewel.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 709.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS[5] to MARCUS BRUTUS and CAIUS CASSIUS.

You will judge by this letter, in what posture our affairs stand. I received a visit yesterday in

[5] Decimus Brutus, of the same family with Marcus Brutus, served under Cæsar in the wars in Gaul: at the end of which, in the year 703, he returned to Rome, and was chosen one of the city quæstors. It does not appear that he distinguished himself by any thing remarkable, till he engaged with Marcus Brutus and Cassius in the conspiracy against his friend and benefactor. This was executed, as all the world knows, by stabbing Cæsar in the senate, on the ides, or the 15th of March, a few weeks before the present letter was written. When one considers the characters of those who were the principal actors in this memorable tragedy, it is astonishing that they should have looked no farther than merely to the taking away of Cæsar's life: as if they imagined, that the government must necessarily return into its proper channel, as soon as the person who had obstructed its course, was removed. They were altogether, therefore, unprepared for those very probable contingencies which they ought to have had in view, and which accordingly ensued. Whatever then may be determined as to the patriotism of the fact itself, it was, unquestionably, conducted, as Cicero frequently and justly complains, by the weakest and most impolitic counsels. Antony, (who was at this time consul) although

in the evening from Hirtius[6], who convinced me of Antony's extreme perfidy and ill intentions towards us. He assured Hirtius, it seems, that he could by no means consent I should take possession of the province, to which I have been nominated[7]; and that both the army and the populace were so highly incensed against us, that he imagined we could none of us continue with any safety in Rome. You are sensible, I dare say, that both these assertions are as absolutely false, as that it is undoubtedly true, what Hirtius added, that Antony is apprehensive if we should gain the least increase of power, it will be impossible for him and his party to maintain their ground. I thought, under these difficulties, the most prudent step I could take, for our common interest, would be

though he thought proper, at first, to carry a fair appearance towards the conspirators, yet secretly raised such a spirit against them, that they found it expedient to withdraw from Rome. Brutus and Cassius retired to Lanuvium, a villa belonging to the former, about fifteen miles from the city: at which place they probably were, when Decimus Brutus, who had not yet left Rome, wrote the following letter.

[6] Hirtius was warmly attached to Cæsar, and extremely regretted his death: but as he was disgusted with Antony, and perhaps jealous too of his rising power, he seems to have opposed the cause he approved, merely from a spirit of personal pique and envy. *Vid. Ad. Att.* xiv. 22. xv. 6.

[7] Cæsar, a short time before his death, had nominated Decimus Brutus to the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Antony to that of Macedonia. But as Gaul lay more conveniently for Antony's present purposes, his design was to procure the administration of it for himself.

be to request that an honorary legation[8] might be decreed to each of us; in order to give some decent colour to our leaving Rome. Accordingly, Hirtius has promised to obtain this grant in our favour; though I must add, at the same time, such a spirit is raised against us in the senate, that I am by no means clear he will be able to perform his engagement. And should he succeed, yet I am persuaded it will not be long ere they declare us public enemies, or at least sentence us to banishment. It appears to me, therefore, our wisest method, in the present conjuncture, to submit to Fortune, and withdraw to Rhodes, or to some other secure part of the world. We may there adjust our measures to public circumstances, and either return to Rome, or remain in exile, as affairs shall hereafter appear with a more or less inviting aspect: or if the worst should happen, we may have recourse to the last desperate expedient[a]. Should it be asked, "why not attempt something at present, rather than wait a more "distant

[8] The senators could not be long absent from Rome without leave of the senate. When their private affairs, therefore, required their attendance abroad, it was usual to apply for what they called a *legatio libera*, which gave a sanction to their absence, and invested them with a sort of *travelling title*, that procured them the greater respect and honours in the countries through which they passed, and in the place where they proposed to reside.

[a] That is, (as the commentators explain it) by arming the slaves, throwing open the prisons, and raising foreign nations in their defence.

"distant period?" My answer is, because I know not where we can hope to make a stand, unless we should go either to Sextus Pompeius[9], or to Cæcilius Bassus[1]. It is probable, indeed, that when the news of Cæsar's death shall be spread through their respective provinces, it may much contribute to strengthen their party; however, it will be soon enough to join them, when we shall know the state of their forces.

If you and Cassius are desirous I should enter into any engagement on your behalf, I shall very readily be your sponsor: and, indeed, it is a condition which Hirtius requires. I desire, therefore, you would acquaint me with your resolution, as soon as possible: for I expect, before ten o'clock, to receive an appointment from Hirtius to meet him upon these affairs. Let me know, at the same time, where I shall find you.

As

9 Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey, was in Corduba, when his brother Cneius gave battle to Cæsar, Cneius attempting to make his escape, after the total defeat of his army, was killed by some of the conqueror's soldiers: but Sextus, upon the enemy's approach, in order to lay siege to Corduba, secretly abandoned that city, and concealed himself till Cæsar's return into Italy. The latter had no sooner left Spain, than Sextus collected his broken forces: and a short time after this letter was written, he appeared at the head of no less than six legions. *Hirt. de Bel. Hisp. Dio. pag.* 274.

1 An account of him has already been given in rem. 7. p. 65. of this vol.

As soon as Hirtius shall have given me his final answer, I purpose to apply to the senate, that a guard may be appointed to attend us in Rome. I do not suppose they will comply with this request, as our appearing to stand in need of such a protection, will render them extremely odious. But how successful soever my demands may prove, I shall not be discouraged from making such as I think reasonable. Farewel.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

NOTWITHSTANDING I wrote this morning by Harpatus, and nothing new has since occurred: yet I cannot forbear making use of this opportunity of conveying a second letter to you upon the same subject: not, however, as entertaining the least distrust of your care, but because the business in which I have employed you, is of the last importance to me[2]. My whole design

[2] As Cicero was known to favour the conspirators, he did not think it prudent to trust himself in Rome after Brutus and Cassius had found it necessary to withdraw from thence: and, accordingly, he soon afterwards followed their example, by retiring into the country. His intention at this time was, to make a tour into Greece for a few months; and with that view he had dispatched Tiro to Rome, in order to call in the several monies which were due to him, and likewise to discharge some debts which he had himself contracted.

design, indeed, in parting with you was, that you might thoroughly settle my affairs. I desire, therefore, in the first place, that the demands of Otillius and Aurelius may be satisfied. Your next endeavour must be to obtain part, at least, if you cannot procure the whole, of what is due to me from Flamma: and particularly insist on his making this payment by the first of January[3]. With regard to that debt which was assigned over to me; I beg you would exert your utmost diligence to recover it; but, as to the advance-payment of the other not yet due, I leave you to act as you shall judge proper. And this much for my private concerns. As to those of the public, I desire you would send me all the certain intelligence you can collect. Let me know what Octavius[4] and Antony are doing; what is the general

[3] When the new consuls were to enter upon their office; by which time, Cicero proposed to return to Rome.

[4] Octavius, who was afterwards known and celebrated by the name of Augustus Cæsar, was the son of Attia, Julius Cæsar's niece. His uncle, who designed him for the heir, both of his power and his fortunes, had sent him, about six months before his death, to Apollonia, a learned seminary of great note in Macedonia. In this place he was to prosecute his studies and exercises, till Cæsar, who proposed he should accompany him in his intended expedition against the Parthians, should call upon him in his march to that country. But as soon as Octavius was informed of the death of Cæsar, and that he had appointed him his heir, he immediately hastened to Rome: and the eyes of every body, but particularly of Cicero, were now attentively turned towards him, in order to

general opinion of Rome; and what turn you imagine affairs are likely to take. I can scarcely forbear running into the midst of the scene: but I restrain myself, in the expectation of your letter.

Your news concerning Balbus, proves true; he was at Aquinum at the time you were told; and Hirtius followed him thither the next day. I imagine they are both going to the waters of Baiæ: but let me know what you can discover of their motions.

Do not forget to remind the agents of Dolabella[5]: nor to insist upon the payment of what is due from Papia. Farewel.

LETTER

to discover in what manner he would act in this very critical situation, both of his own affairs, and those of the republic. *Dio. p.* 271. *Appian. Bel. Civil.* ii.

[5] It appears by the letters written to Atticus at this time, that Cicero had some considerable demands upon Dolabella; which arose, it is probable, from the latter not having yet returned the whole of Tullia's portion, agreeably to the Roman laws in cases of divorce.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 709.]

To Bithynicus[6].

I have many reasons to wish that the republic may be restored: but, believe me, the promise you give me in your letter, renders it still more ardently my desire. You assure me, if that happy event should take place, you will consecrate your whole time to me: an assurance which I received with the greatest pleasure, as it is perfectly agreeable to the friendship in which we are united, and to the opinion which that excellent man your father[7] entertained of me. You have received more considerable services, I confess, from the men who are, or lately were, in power, than any that I have been capable of conferring upon you: but, in all other respects, there is no person whose connexions with you are of a stronger kind than my own. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that I find, you

[6] This person is supposed, by Manutius, to be the son of Quintus Pompeius, who obtained the name of Bithynicus, in honour of his conquest of Bithynia.

[7] Cicero mentions him in his treatise of celebrated orators, as one with whom he had enjoyed a particular friendship. He attended Pompey in his flight after the battle of Pharsalia, and perished with him in Egypt. *Cic. de clar. orat.* 240.

you not only preserve our friendship in your remembrance, but are desirous, likewise, of increasing its strength. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To TIRO.

IF you should have an opportunity, you may register the money you mention: though, indeed, it is an acquisition which it is not absolutely requisite to enrol[8]. However, it may, perhaps, be as well.

I have received a letter from Balbus, wherein he excuses himself for not giving me an account of Antony's intentions concerning the law I inquired after; because he has gotten, it seems, a violent defluction upon his eyes. Excellent excuse, it must be owned! For if a man is not able to write; most certainly, you know, he cannot dictate! But let the world go as it will, so I may sit down quietly here in the country.

I have written to Bithynicus.—As to what you mention concerning Servilius; you, who are a young man, may think length of days a desirable circumstance; but, for myself, I have

no

[8] The censors every five years numbered the people: at which time each citizen was obliged to give an exact account of his estate. But, if in the interval, a man had made any new acquisition, he was required to enter it before the prætor.

no such wish[9]. Atticus, nevertheless imagines, that I am still as anxious for the preservation of my life as he once knew me; not observing how firmly I have since fortified my heart with all the strength of philosophy. The truth of it is, he is now seized in his turn with a panic himself; and would endeavour to infect me with the same groundless apprehensions. But it is my intention to preserve that friendship unviolated, which I have so long enjoyed with Antony[1]: and, accordingly, I intend writing to him very soon. I shall

[9] Servilius Isauricus died about this time, in an extreme old age: Manutius conjectures, therefore, and with great probability, that Tiro, in the letter to which the present is an answer, had given Cicero an account of this event, and, at the same time, expressed his wishes of living to the same advanced period.

[1] Both Antony and Cicero seem to have been equally unwilling, at this time, to come to an open rupture: but, as to a real friendship between them, it is highly probable there never had been any. On the part of Antony, at least, there were some very strong family reasons to alienate him from Cicero. For Antony's father married the widow of Lentulus, whom Cicero had put to death as an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy; and he, himself, was married to Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, Cicero's most inveterate enemy. These alliances must unquestionably have made impressions upon Antony's mind, little favourable to sentiments of amity: and, probably, contributed, among other reasons, to kindle that resentment which terminated in Cicero's destruction: but whatever the true motive of their enmity towards each other might have been; the first coolness seems to have arisen on the side of Antony: and, if Cicero had resented it with greater moderation, he would have acted, perhaps, with more prudence in regard to the public interest, as well as in respect to his own. *Vid. Ad Att.* xiv. 19.

shall defer my letter, however, till your return: but I do not mention this with any design of calling you off from the business you are transacting[2], and which, indeed, is much more nearly my concern.

I expect a visit from Lepta to-morrow: and shall have occasion for all the sweets of your conversation, to temper the bitterness with which his will be attended. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 709.]

To DOLABELLA, Consul[3].

I DESIRE no greater satisfaction, my dear Dolabella, than what arises to me from the disinterested part I take in the glory you have lately acquired: however, I cannot but acknowledge, I am infinitely pleased to find, that the world gives me a share in the merit of your late applauded conduct. I daily meet, in this place, great

[2] See rem. 2. p. 86. of this vol.

[3] Cæsar had appointed Dolabella to succeed him in the consulship as soon as he should set out upon his Parthian expedition; and, accordingly, Dolabella, upon the death of Cæsar, immediately assumed the administration of that office. His conduct in this critical conjuncture had rendered it somewhat doubtful which side he was most disposed to favour: but an accident had lately happened which gave the friends of the republic great hopes that he would support the cause of the conspirators. Some of Cæsar's freedmen had erected a sort

great numbers of the first rank in Rome, who are assembled here for the benefit of their health, as well as a multitude of my friends from the principal cities in Italy: and they all agree in joining their particular thanks to me, with those unbounded praises they bestow upon you. They every one of them, indeed, tell me, that they are persuaded it is owing to your compliance with my counsels and admonitions, that you approve yourself so excellent a patriot and so worthy a consul. I might, with strict truth assure them, that you are much superior to the want of being advised by any man; and that you actions are the free and genuine result of your own uninfluenced judgment. But although I do not entirely acquiesce in their compliment, as it would lessen the credit of your conduct, if it should be supposed to flow altogether from my suggestions; yet, neither do I wholly reject it: for the love of praise is a passion, which I am apt, you know, somewhat

a sort of altar, upon the spot where his body had been burnt: at which the populace daily assembled in the most tumultuous and alarming manner. Dolabella, in the absence of his colleague Antony, interposed his consular authority in order to suppress this mob: and having caused the altar to be demolished, he exerted a very seasonable act of severity, by commanding the principal ringleaders of the riot to be instantly put to death. It was this that produced the following letter from Cicero, written from some place of public resort, probably from the Baths of Baiæ. *Dio*. p. 240. 267. *Ad Att*. xiv. 15.

what too immoderately to indulge. Yet, after all, to take counsel of a Nestor, as it was an honour to the character even of that king of kings, Agamemnon himself, it cannot surely be unbecoming the dignity of yours. It is certainly, at least, much to the credit of mine, that while in this early period of your life[4], you are thus exercising the supreme magistracy with universal admiration and applause; you are considered as directed by my guidance and formed by my instructions.

I lately paid a visit to Lucius Cæsar[5], at Naples; and though I found him extremely indisposed, and full of pain in every part of his body, yet the moment I entered his chamber he raised himself with an air of transport, and without allowing himself time to salute me, "O my "dear Cicero, said he, I give you joy of your "influence over Dolabella, and had I the same "credit with my nephew, our country might "now

[4] Dolabella was, at this time, no more than twenty-five years of age: which was almost twenty years earlier than he could legally have offered himself as a candidate for the consular dignity; the Roman laws having very wisely provided that no man should be capable of exercising this important office till he had attained the age of forty-two.

[5] He was a distant relation to Julius Cæsar, and uncle to Mark Antony. Upon the celebrated coalition of the triumvirate, he was sacrified by Antony to the resentment of Octavius: as, in return, Cicero was delivered up to the vengeance of Antony. But Lucius escaped the consequence of this proscription by the means of Julia, Antony's mother. *Plut. in vit. Ant.*

"now be preserved. But I not only congratu-"late your friend on his worthy conduct, but "desire you would return him my particular "acknowledgments: as, indeed, he is the single "consul who has acted with true spirit, since "you filled that office." He then proceeded to enlarge upon your late glorious action, representing it as equal to the most illustrious and important service that ever was rendered to the commonwealth. And in this he only echoed the general voice of the whole republic. Suffer me, then, to take possession of those encomiums to which I am by no means entitled, and, in some sort, to participate with you in that general applause you have acquired. To be serious, however, (for you will not imagine that I make this request in good earnest) I would much rather resign to you the whole of my own glory, (if there be any, indeed, I can justly claim) than arrogate to myself the least portion of that which is so unquestionably your due. For as you cannot but be sensible that I have ever loved you, so your late behaviour has raised that affection into the highest possible ardour: as, in truth, there cannot be any thing more engagingly fair, more irresistibly amiable, than the patriot virtues. I need not tell you how greatly the exalted talents and polite man-

ners,

ners, together with the singular spirit and probity of Marcus Brutus, had ever endeared him to my heart. Nevertheless, his late glorious achievement on the ides of March, has wonderfully heightened that esteem I bore him: and which I had always looked upon as too exalted to admit of any farther advance. In the same manner, who would have imagined that my friendship towards yourself was capable of increase? yet it actually has increased so very considerably, that the former sentiments of my heart seem to have been nothing more than common affection, in comparison of that transcendent passion which I now feel for you.

Can it be necessary that I should either exhort you to preserve the glory you have acquired, or, agreeably to the usual style of admonition, set before your view some animating examples of illustrious merit? I could mention none for this purpose more forcible than your own: and you have only to endeavour to act up to the character you have already attained. It is impossible, indeed, after having performed so signal a service to your country, that you should ever deviate from yourself. Instead, therefore, of sending you any unnecessary exhortations, let me rather congratulate you upon this noble display of your patriotism. It is your privilege (and a privilege, perhaps,

perhaps, which no one ever enjoyed before) to have exercised the severest acts of necessary justice, not only without incurring any odium, but with the greatest popularity: with the approbation of the lowest, as well as of the best and highest amongst us. If this were a circumstance in which chance had any share, I should congratulate your good fortune: but it was the effect of a noble and undaunted resolution, under the guidance of the strongest and most enlightened judgment. I say this, from having read the speech you made upon this occasion to the people; and never was any harangue more judiciously composed. You open and explain the fact with so much address, and gradually rise through the several circumstances in so artful a manner, as to convince all the world that the affair was mature for your animadversion. In a word, you have delivered the commonwealth in general, as well as the city of Rome in particular, from the dangers with which they were threatened: and not only performed a singular service to the present generation, but set forth a most useful example for times to come. You will consider yourself, then, as the great support of the republic; and remember, she expects that you will not only protect, but distinguish those illustrious per-

 sons

sons[6] who have laid the foundation for the recovery of our liberties. But I hope soon to have an opportunity of expressing my sentiments to you more fully upon this subject in person. In the mean while, since you are thus our glorious guardian and preserver, I conjure you, my dear Dolabella, to take care of yourself for the sake of the whole commonwealth[7]. Farewel.

LETTER

[6] Brutus and Cassius, together with the rest of the conspirators.

[7] Cicero communicated a copy of this letter to Atticus, who appears to have much disapproved of those encomiums with which it is so extravagantly swelled. The hyperbole, indeed, seems to have been the prevailing figure in Cicero's rhetoric; and he generally dealt it out, both to his friends and to his enemies, with more warmth than discretion. In the present instance, at least, he was either very easily imposed upon by appearances, or he changed his opinion of Dolabella's public actions and designs, according to the colour of his conduct towards himself. Perhaps, both these causes might concur, in forming those great and sudden variations which we find in our author's sentiments at this period, with respect to the hero of the panegyric before us: for, in a letter to Atticus, written very shortly after the present, he speaks of Dolabella with high displeasure; and, in another to the same person, a few months later, he exclaims against him with much bitterness, as one who had not only been bribed by Antony to desert the cause of liberty, but who had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, entirely to ruin it. The accusation seems to have been just; but, it is observable, however, that in both the letters referred to, part of Cicero's indignation arises from some personal ill-treatment which he complains of having received from Dolabella. *Vid. Ad Att.* xiv. 18. xvi. 15.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 709.]

To TREBONIUS[8].

I HAVE recommended my *Orator* (for that is the title which I have given to the treatise I promised to send you) to the care of your freedman Sabinus. I was induced to trust it in his charge, from the good opinion I entertain of his countrymen: if, indeed, I may guess at his country by his name[9], and he has not, like an artful candidate at an election, usurped an appellation to which he has no right[1]. However, there

[8] Some account has already been given of Trebonius in rem. 4. p. 181. vol. ii. Cæsar, upon his return from Spain, in the preceding year, appointed him consul with Quintus Fabius Maximus; but this and other favours of the same kind were not sufficient to restrain him from entering into the conspiracy which was soon afterwards formed against Cæsar's life. At the same time, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius found it expedient to leave Rome, Trebonius secretly withdrew into Asia Minor, which had before been allotted to him as his proconsular province: and he was on his way to that government when the present letter was written. *Dio.* p. 236, 247. *Ad Att.* xiv. 10.

[9] Cicero supposes that Sabinus was so called as being a native of Sabinia, a country in Italy, the inhabitants of which were celebrated for having long retained an uncorrupted simplicity of manners. *Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini*, is Virgil's conclusion of that charming description which he gives of the pleasing labours and innocent recreations of rural life. *Georg.* ii. 532.

[1] It was an artifice sometimes practised by the candidates for offices, in order to recommend themselves to the

good

there is such a modesty in his countenance, and such an air of sincerity in his conversation, that I am much deceived if he does not possess, in some degree, at least, the true Sabine simplicity. But not to suffer him to take up any more of my paper, I will now turn, my dear Trebonius, to yourself. As there were some circumstances attending your departure that increased the affection I bear towards you, let me entreat you, in order to sooth the uneasiness I feel from your absence, to be as frequent a correspondent on your part, as you shall certainly find me on mine. There are two reasons, indeed, why you ought to be more so; the first is, that, as the republic can now no longer be considered as in Rome, but removed with its glorious defenders, we, who remain here, must expect to receive from our provincial friends what we used to transmit to them; an account, I mean, of the commonwealth. The next reason is, because I have many other opportunities in your absence, besides that of writing, to give you proofs of my friendship: whereas, you have none, I think, of testifying yours, but by the frequency of your letters. As to all other articles, I can wait; but my first and most

good graces of their constituents, to pretend a kindred to which they had no right, by assuming the name of some favourite and popular family. *Manut.*

most impatient desire, is to know what sort of journey you have had, where you met Brutus[2], and how long you continued together. When you are advanced farther towards your province, you will acquaint me, I hope, with your military preparations, and with whatever else relates to our public affairs, that I may be able to form some judgment of our situation. I am sure, at least, I shall give no credit to any intelligence but what I receive from your hands. In the mean time, take care of your health, and continue to allow me the same singular share of your affection which I have always enjoyed. Farewel.

LETTER

[2] Brutus had not left Italy when Trebonius set out for Asia, nor did he leave it till several months afterwards: so that the inquiry which Cicero here makes, must relate to some interview which he supposed that Trebonius might have had with Brutus before the former embarked. *Vid. Ad Att.* xiv. 10.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 709.]

TREBONIUS to CICERO[3].

I ARRIVED at Athens on the 22d of this month, where, agreeably to my wishes, I had the satisfaction of finding your son in the pursuit of the noblest improvements, and in the highest esteem for his modest and ingenuous behaviour[4]. As you perfectly well know the place you possess in my heart, you will judge, without my telling you, how much pleasure this circumstance afforded me. In conformity, indeed, to the unfeigned friendship which had so long been cemented between us, I rejoice in every advantage that can attend you, be it ever so inconsiderable; much more, therefore, in one so important to your happiness. Believe me, my dear Cicero, I do not flatter you when I say, there is not a youth in all this seminary of learning more ardently devoted to those refined and elevated arts which are so peculiarly your passion, or who, in every view of his character, is more truly amiable, than our young man. I call him *ours*, for, be assured, I cannot

[3] This letter seems to have been written before the preceding epistle had reached the hands of Trebonius.

[4] See the remarks on let. 37. of this book.

cannot separate myself from any thing with which you are connected. It is with great pleasure, therefore, as well as with strict justice, I congratulate both you and myself, that a youth for whom we ought to have some affection, whatever his disposition might be, is of a character to deserve our highest. As he intimated a desire of seeing Asia, I not only invited, but pressed him to take the opportunity of visiting that province whilst I presided there: and you will not doubt of my supplying your place in every tender office of paternal care. But that you may not be apprehensive this scheme will prove an interruption of those studies, to which, I know, he is continually animated by your exhortations, Cratippus[5] shall be of our party. Nor shall your son want my earnest incitements to advance daily in those sciences, into which he has already made so successful an entrance.

I am wholly ignorant of what is going forward at Rome; only I hear some uncertain rumours of commotions amongst you. But I hope there is no foundation for this report; that we may one day sit down in the peaceful possession of our liberties, retired from the noise and bustle of the world: a privilege which hitherto it

[5] See rem. 3. p. 171. of this vol.

it has not been my fortune to enjoy. However, having had a short relaxation from business during my voyage to this place, I amused myself with putting together a few thoughts, which I always designed as a present to you. In this performance I have inserted that lively observation which you formerly made so much to my honour, and have pointed out, by a note at the bottom, to whom I am indebted for the compliment. If, in some passages of this piece, I should appear to have taken great liberties; I shall be justified, I persuade myself, by the character of the man at whom my invective is aimed[6]: and you will, undoubtedly, excuse the just indignation I have expressed against a person of such infamous principles. Why, indeed, may I not be indulged in the same unbounded licence as was allowed to honest Lucilius[7]? He could not be animated with greater abhorrence of the vices, which he has so freely attacked; and, certainly, they were not more worthy of satire than those against which I have inveighed.

I hope you will remember your promise, and take the first opportunity of introducing me as a party in some of your future dialogues. I doubt not, if you should write any thing upon the subject

6 Probably at Antony.

7 See rem. 8. p. 319. vol. ii.

ject of Cæsar's death, that you will give an instance of your friendship and your justice, by ascribing to me no inconsiderable share of that glorious transaction.

I recommend my mother and family to your good offices, and bid you farewel.

Athens, May the 25th.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 709.]

To Matius[8].

I know not whether it is with greater pain or pleasure, that I reflect on the visit which I lately received from our very good friend, the well-natured Trebatius. He called upon me the next morning after my arrival at Tusculum:

[8] It is principally owing to this and the following letter, that the name and character of Matius are known to posterity: as he is nowhere mentioned by any of the ancient historians of this memorable period. His inviolable and disinterested affection to Cæsar, together with the generous courage with which he avowed that attachment when Cæsar was no more; as they strongly mark out the virtues of his heart, so they will best appear by his own spirited reply to the present epistle. But Matius was as much distinguished by his genius as his virtues: and he was perfectly well accomplished in those arts, which contribute to the innocent pleasure and embellishment of human life. Gardening and poetry, in particular, seem to have been his favourite amusements: in the former of which, his countrymen were indebted to him for some useful improvements; as they likewise were in the latter, for an elegant translation of the Iliad. *Columel.* xii. 44. *Aul. Gel.* vi. 6. ix. 4.

lum: and as he was, by no means, sufficiently recovered from his late indisposition, I could not forbear reproving him for thus hazarding his health. He interrupted me with saying, that nothing was of more importance to him than the business which brought him to my house: and upon my enquiry if any thing new had occurred; he immediately entered into an account of your complaints against me. But before I give them a particular answer, let me begin with a few previous reflections.

Amongst all my acquaintance, I cannot recollect any man with whom I have longer enjoyed a friendship, than with yourself; and, although there are several for whom my affection commenced as early, there are few for whom it has risen so high. The truth of it is, I conceived an esteem for you from the first moment I saw you: and I had reason to believe, that you thought of me in the same favourable manner. But your long absence from Rome, which immediately succeeded our first acquaintance, together with that active course of life wherein I was engaged, and which was so entirely different from yours, did not, at that time, admit of our improving this mutual disposition, by a more frequent intercourse. Nevertheless, even so long ago as when Cæsar was

was in Gaul, and many years before the commencement of the civil war, I experienced your friendly inclinations towards me. For as you imagined that my union with Cæsar would be greatly advantageous on my side, and not altogether unserviceable to his, you generously recommended me to his favour, and was the cause of his cultivating my friendship. I forbear to mention several instances which occurred at that period, of the unreserved manner in which we both conversed and corresponded together: as they were followed by others of a more important nature. At the opening of the civil war, when you were going to meet Cæsar at Brundisium, you paid me a visit in my Formian villa. This single favour, had it been attended with no other, was, at such a critical juncture, an ample testimony of your affection. But can I ever forget the generous advice you so kindly gave me at the same time: and of which Trebatius, I remember, was himself a witness? Can I ever forget the letter you afterwards wrote to me, when you went to join Cæsar in the district, if I mistake not, of Trebula? It was soon after this, that, either by gratitude, by honour, or perhaps by fate, I was determined to follow Pompey into Greece: and was there any instance of an obliging zeal, which you did not exert in my absence, both

for

for me and for my family? was there any one, in short, whom either they or I had more reason to esteem our friend? But I returned to Brundisium: and can I forget (let me ask once more, with what an obliging expedition you hastened, as soon as you heard of my arrival, to meet me at Tarentum? How friendly were your visits; how kind your endeavours to reason me out of that dejection, into which the dread of our general calamities had sunk me! At length, however, I returned to Rome: where every proof of the greatest intimacy, and upon occasions too of the most important kind, mutually passed between us. It was by your directions and advice, that I learned to regulate my conduct with respect to Cæsar: and as to other instances of your friendship, where was the man, except Cæsar himself, at whose house you more frequently visited, or upon whom you bestowed so many agreeable hours of your conversation? in some of which, you may remember, it was, that you encouraged me to engage in my philosophical writings. When Cæsar afterwards returned from compleating his victories, it was your first and principal endeavour to establish me again in his friendship: and it was an endeavour, in which you perfectly well succeeded. But to what purpose, you will ask, perhaps, this long detail? Longer, indeed, I must acknowledge

knowledge it is, than I was myself aware: however, the use I would make of these several circumstances, is to shew you how much reason I have to be surprised, that you, who well know the truth of them, should believe me capable of having acted inconsistently with such powerful ties. But besides these motives of my attachment to you; motives known and visible to the whole world; there are others of a far less conspicuous kind: and which I am at a loss to represent in the terms they deserve. Every part, indeed, of your character I admire: but when I consider you as the wise, the firm and the faithful friend; as the polite, the witty, and the learned companion; these, I confess, are the striking points amidst your many other illustrious qualifications, with which I am particularly charmed. But it is time to return to the complaints you have alledged against me. Be assured then, I never once credited the report of your having voted for the law you mentioned to Trebatius: and, indeed, if I had, I should have been well persuaded that you were induced to concur in promoting it, upon some very just and rational motive. But as the dignity of your character draws upon you the observation of all the world; the malevolence of mankind will, sometimes, give severer constructions to your actions, than most certainly

certainly they merit. If no instances of this kind have ever reached your knowledge, I know not in what manner to proceed in my justification. Believe me, however, I have always defended you, upon these occasions, with the same warmth and spirit, with which I am sensible you are wont to oppose, on your part, the calumnies that are thrown out upon myself. Thus, with regard to the law I just now mentioned, I have always peremptorily denied the truth of the charge: and as to your having been one of the managers of the late[9] games, I have constantly insisted that you acted agreeably to those pious offices that are due to the memory of a departed friend. In respect to the latter, however, you cannot be ignorant, that if Cæsar was really a tyrant, (as I think he was[1]) your zeal may be considered

[9] At the time when Cæsar was killed, he was preparing, agreeably to a vow which he had made at the battle of Pharsalia, to exhibit some games in honour of Venus; a divinity, from whom he affected to be thought a descendant. Octavius, soon after his return to Rome, upon the death of Cæsar, celebrated these games at his own expence: and Matius undertook to be one of the managers. As this was a public mark of respect paid to the memory of Cæsar, and might tend to inflame the minds of the populace against the conspirators, it gave much disgust to the friends of the republic: and Cicero, it is probable, was in the number of those who had openly spoken of it with displeasure. He did so, at least, in a letter to Atticus. *Vid. Ad Att.* xv. 2. *Appian. Bel. Civil.* ii. 407.

[1] "It is with injustice (said the celebrated queen of Sweden) "that Cæsar is accused of being a tyrant: if to govern

considered in two very different views. It may be said, (and it is an argument which I never fail to urge in your favour) that you shewed a very commendable fidelity, in thus displaying your affection to a departed friend. On the other hand, it may be alledged (and, in fact, it is alledged) that the liberties of our country ought to be far preferable even to the life itself of those whom we hold most dear. I wish you had been informed of the part I have always taken, whenever this question has been started. But there are two circumstances that reflect the brightest lustre upon your character, and which none of your friends more frequently or more warmly commemorate, than myself; I mean your having always most strongly recommended pacific measures to Cæsar, and constantly advised him to use his victory with moderation: in both which, the whole world is agreed with me in acknowledging your merit.

I think

"govern Rome was the most important servce he could "have performed to his country." It is certain that the republic was well-nigh reduced to a state of total anarchy, when Cæsar usurped the command: but it is equally certain, that he, himself, had been the principal author and fomenter of those confusions, which rendered an absolute authority the only possible expedient for reducing the commonwealth into a state of tranquillity and good order. If this be true, it seems no very intricate question to determine, what verdict ought to be passed upon Cæsar. But surely it is difficult to know by what principles Cicero can be acquitted, who reviled that man when dead, whom he was the first to flatter when living.

I think myself much obliged to our friend Trebatius, for having given me this occasion of justifying myself before you. And you will credit the professions I have here made, unless you imagine me void of every spark both of gratitude and generosity: an opinion, than which nothing can be more injurious to my sentiments, or more unworthy of yours. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 709.]

MATIUS to CICERO.

I RECEIVED great satisfaction from your letter, as it assured me of my holding that rank in your esteem, which I have ever wished and hoped to enjoy. Indeed I never doubted of your good opinion: but the value I set upon it, rendered me solicitous of preserving it without the least blemish. Conscious, however, that I had never given just offence to any candid and honest mind, I was the less disposed to believe, that you, whose sentiments are exalted by the cultivation of so many generous arts, could hastily credit any reports to my disadvantage: especially as you were one for whom I had

at

at all times discovered much sincere good will. But as I have the pleasure to find that you think of me agreeably to my wishes, I will drop this subject, in order to vindicate myself from those calumnies which you have so often, and with such singular generosity, opposed. I am perfectly well apprised of the reflections that have been cast upon me since Cæsar's death. It has been imputed to me, I know, that I lament the loss of my friend, and think with indignation on the murderers of the man I loved. "The welfare "of our country," say my accusers, (as if they had already made it appear that the destruction of Cæsar was for the benefit of the commonwealth) "the welfare of our country is to be "preferred to all considerations of amity." It may be so; but I will honestly confess, that I am by no means arrived at this elevated strain of patriotism. Nevertheless, I took no part with Cæsar in our civil dissentions; but neither did I desert my friend, because I disliked his measures. The truth is, I was so far from approving the civil war, that I always thought it unjustifiable, and exerted my utmost endeavours to extinguish those sparks by which it was kindled. In conformity to these sentiments, I did not make use of my friend's victory to the gratification of any lucrative or ambitious purposes

of my own, as some others most shamefully did, whose interest with Cæsar was much inferior to mine. Far, in truth, from being a gainer by his success, I suffered greatly in my fortunes by that very law which saved many of those who now exult in his death from the disgrace of being obliged to fly their country[2]. Let me add, that I recommended the vanquished party to his clemency, with the same warmth and zeal as if my own preservation had been concerned. Thus desirous that all my fellow-citizens might enjoy their lives in full security, can I repress the indignation of my heart against the assassins of that man, from whose generosity this privilege was obtained; especially, as the same hands were lifted up to his destruction, which had first drawn upon him all the odium and envy of his administration? Yet I am threatened, it seems, with their vengeance, for daring to condemn the deed. Unexampled insolence! that some should glory in the pepetration of those crimes, which others should not be permitted even to deplore! The meanest slave has ever been allowed to indulge, without control, the fears, the sorrows, or the joys of his heart; but

[2] The law alluded to, is, probably, that which Cæsar enacted for the relief of those who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war, of which see rem. 11. p. 260. vol. II.

but these our assertors of *liberty*, as they call themselves, endeavour to extort from me, by their menaces, this common privilege of every creature. Vain and impotent endeavours! no dangers shall intimidate me from acting up to the generous duties of friendship and humanity; persuaded, as I have ever been, that death in an honest cause ought never to be shunned, and frequently to be courted. Yet, why does it thus move their displeasure, if I only wish that they may repent of what they have perpetrated? for wish I will acknowledge I do, that both they and all the world may regret the death of Cæsar. "But as a member, (say they,) of the common-"wealth, you ought, above all things, to desire "its preservation." Now that I sincerely do so, if the whole tenor of my past conduct, and all the hopes I can reasonably be supposed to entertain, will not sufficiently evince, I shall not attempt to prove it by my professions. I conjure you, then, to judge of me, not by what others may say, but by the plain tendency of my actions; and, if you believe I have any interest in the tranquillity of the republic, be assured, that I will have no communication with those who would impiously disturb its peace. Shall I renounce, indeed, those patriot principles I steadily pursued in my youth, when warmth and

inexperience might have pleaded some excuse for errors? Shall I, in the sober season of declining age, wantonly unravel, at once, the whole fair contexture of my better days? Most assuredly not; nor shall I ever give any other offence than in bewailing the severe catastrophe of a most intimate and illustrious friend! Were I disposed to act otherwise, I should scorn to deny it; nor should it be ever said, that I covered my crimes by hypocrisy, and feared to avow what I scrupled not to commit.

But to proceed to the other articles of the charge against me; it is farther alledged that I presided at those games which the young Octavius exhibited in honour of Cæsar's victories. The charge, I confess, is true; but what connexion has an act of mere private duty, with the concerns of the republic? It was an office, not only due from me to the memory of my departed friend, but which I could not refuse to that illustrious youth, his most worthy heir. I am reproached, also, with having been frequent in paying my visits of compliment to Antony; yet you will find that the very men who impute this as a mark of disaffection to my country, appeared much more frequently at his levee, either to solicit his favours, or to receive them. But, after all, can there be any thing, let me

ask, more insufferably arrogant than this accusation? Cæsar never opposed my associating with whomsoever I thought proper, even though it were with persons whom he himself disapproved; and shall the men who have cruelly robbed me of one friend, attempt, likewise, by their malicious insinuations, to alienate me from another? But the moderation of my conduct, will, I doubt not, discredit all reports that may hereafter be raised to my disadvantage; and I am persuaded, that even those who hate me for my attachment to Cæsar, would rather choose a friend of my disposition, than of their own. In fine, if my affairs should permit me, it is my resolution to spend the remainder of my days at Rhodes. But, if any accident should render it necessary for me to continue at Rome, my actions shall evince, that I am sincerely desirous of my country's welfare. In the mean time, I am much obliged to Trebatius for supplying you with an occasion of so freely laying open to me the amicable sentiments of your heart; as it affords me an additional reason for cultivating a friendship with one whom I have ever been disposed to esteem. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 709.]

MARCUS BRUTUS and CAIUS CASSIUS, Prætors[3], to MARK ANTONY, Consul.

IF we were not persuaded of your honour and friendship, we should not trouble you with the present application; which, in confidence of both, we doubt not of your receiving in the most favourable manner.

We are informed, that great numbers of the veteran troops are already arrived in Rome, and that many more are expected by the first of June. Our sentiments would be extremely changed, indeed, if we entertained any fears or suspicions with regard to yourself. However, as we resigned ourselves entirely to your direction, and, in compliance with your advice, not only published an edict, but wrote circular letters in order to dismiss our friends who came to our assistance from the municipal towns, we may justly look upon ourselves as worthy of being admitted into a share of your councils; especially in an article wherein we are particularly

[3] They had been appointed prætors for the present year, by Cæsar. The reader has already been informed, that Brutus and Cassius, finding it necessary, soon after the assassination of Cæsar, to withdraw from Rome, retired to a villa of the former, at Lanuvium; from whence this letter was probably written.

larly concerned. It is our joint request, therefore, that you would explicitly acquaint us with your intentions, and whether you imagine we can possibly be safe amidst such a multitude of veteran troops, who have even some design, we are told, of replacing the altar[4] which was erected to Cæsar; a design, surely, which no one can wish may meet with your approbation, who has any regard to our credit or security[5]. It has sufficiently appeared, that from the beginning of this affair, we have had a view to the public tranquillity, and have aimed at nothing more than the recovery of our common liberties. No man, except yourself, has it in his power to deceive us, because we never have trusted, nor ever will trust, any other; and most certainly you have too much integrity to betray the confidence we have reposed in you. Our friends, however, notwithstanding that they have the same reliance upon your good faith, are greatly alarmed for our safety; as they think so large a body of veterans may much more easily be instigated to violent measures by ill-designing men, than they can be restrained by

[4] See rem. 3. p. 92. of this vol.

[5] Because the suffering of divine honours to be paid to Cæsar, would necessarily impress the highest sentiments of him upon the minds of the populace, and, consequently, tend to incense them against those who were concerned in taking away his life.

by your influence and authority. We entreat you, therefore, to return us a full and satisfactory answer. To tell us that you ordered these troops to march to Rome, as intending to move the senate in June next, concerning their[6] affairs, is amusing us with a very idle and trifling reason; for as you are assured that we shall not attempt to obstruct this[7] design, from what other quarter can you possibly suspect that it will be opposed? In a word, it cannot be thought that we are too anxious for our own preservation, when it is considered, that no accident can happen to our persons without involving the whole republic in the most dangerous commotions. Farewel.

LETTER

[6] Antony's *pretended* reason for drawing together this body of veteran troops, was, in order to procure a ratification from the senate, of those grants of lands which had been made to them by Cæsar, as a reward of their services; but his *true* reason was, to strengthen his hands against those who should attempt to oppose his measures.

[7] The conspirators had given public assurances to the veteran troops, that they would not endeavour to annul the grants which Cæsar had made in their favour. *Dio.* p. 257.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 709.]

To Caius Cassius.

Believe me, my Cassius, the republic is the perpetual subject of my meditations; or, to express the same thing in other words, you and Marcus Brutus are never out of my thoughts. It is upon you two, indeed, together with Decimus Brutus, that all our hopes depend.--- Mine are somewhat raised by the glorious conduct of Dolabella, in suppressing the late insurrection[8]; which had spread so wide, and gathered every day such additional strength, that it seemed to threaten destruction to the whole city. But this mob is now so totally quelled, that I think we have nothing farther to fear from any future attempt of the same kind. Many other fears, however, and very considerable ones too, still remain with us; and it entirely rests upon you, in conjunction with your illustrious associates, to remove them. Yet where to advise you to begin for that purpose, I must acknowledge myself at a loss. To say truth, it is the tyrant alone, and not the tyranny, from which we seem to be delivered: for although the man, indeed, is destroyed, we

[8] See rem. 3. p. 92. of this vol.

we still servilely maintain all his despotic ordinances. We do more; and, under the pretence of carrying his designs into execution, we approve of measures which even he himself would never have pursued[9]: and the misfortune is, that I know not where this extravagance will end. When I reflect on the laws that are enacted, on the immunities that are granted, on the immense largesses that are distributed, on the exiles that are recalled, and on the fictitious decrees that are published, the only effect that seems to have been produced by Cæsar's death is, that it has extinguished the sense of our servitude, and the abhorrence of that detestable usurper; as all the disorders into which he threw the republic still continue. These are the evils, therefore, which it is incumbent upon you and your patriot coadjutors to redress: for let not my friends imagine that they have yet completed

[9] A few days after Cæsar's death, Antony assembled the senate in the temple of Tellus, in order to take into consideration the state of public affairs. The result of their deliberations was, to decree a general act of oblivion of what was past, and to confirm the several nominations to magistracies, and other grants, which had been made by Cæsar. This was a very prudent and necessary measure, in order to preserve the public tranquillity; and it was principally procured by the authority and eloquence of Cicero. But Antony soon perverted it to his own ambitious purposes: for being appointed to inspect the papers of Cæsar, he forged some, and modeled others, as best suited his own designs; disposing of every thing as he thought proper, under the authority of this decree. *Dio.* p. 250. 256.

completed their work. The obligations, it is true, which the republic has already received from you, are far greater than I could have ventured to hope: still, however, her demands are not entirely satisfied; and she promises herself yet higher services from such brave and generous benefactors. You have revenged her injuries, by the death of her oppressor; but you have done nothing more. For, tell me, what has she yet recovered of her former dignity and lustre? Does she not obey the will of that tyrant, now he is dead, whom she could not endure when living? And do we not, instead of repealing his public laws, authenticate even his private memorandums? You will tell me, perhaps, (and you may tell me with truth) that I concurred in passing a decree for that purpose. It was in compliance, however, with public circumstances; a regard to which is of much consequence in political deliberations of every kind. But there are some, however, who have most immoderately and ungratefully abused the concessions we found it thus necessary to make.

I hope very speedily to discuss this and many other points with you in person. In the mean time, be persuaded, that the affection I have ever borne to my country, as well as my particular friendship to yourself, renders the advancement

advancement of your credit and esteem with the public extremely my concern. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 709.]

To OPPIUS[2].

THE sentiments and advice which your letter has so freely given me, in relation to my leaving Italy[3], together with what you said to Atticus, in a late conversation upon this subject, have greatly contributed, he can bear me witness, to dispel those doubts that occurred on whichever side I viewed this question. I have ever thought, indeed, that no man was more capable of forming a right judgment, nor more faithful in communicating it, than yourself; as, I am sure, I very particularly experienced, in the beginning of the late civil wars. For when I consulted you in regard to my following Pompey, or remaining in Italy, your advice, I remember, was, that "I should act as "my honour directed." This sufficiently discovered your opinion; and I could not but look with admiration on so remarkable an instance

[2] The MSS. vary in the name of the person to whom this letter is addressed; some writing it *Appius*, and others *Oppius*. If the latter be the true reading, perhaps he is the same of whom some account has been given in rem. 9. p. 134. vol. ii.

[3] See rem. 2. p. 86. of this vol.

stance of your sincerity. For notwithstanding your strong attachment to Cæsar, who, you had reason to think, would have been better pleased if I had pursued a different conduct; yet you rather chose I should act agreeably to my honour, than in conformity to his inclination. My friendship for you, however, did not take its rise from this period; for I was sensible that I enjoyed a share in your esteem long before the time of which I am speaking. I shall ever remember, indeed, the generous services you conferred both upon myself and my family, during the great misfortunes which I suffered in my exile: and the strict intimacy in which we conversed with each other, after my return, as well as the sentiments which, upon all occasions, I professed to entertain of you, are circumstances which none who were inclined to observe them could possibly overlook. But you gave me a most distinguishing proof of the good opinion you had conceived of my constancy and fidelity, by the unreserved resignation of your heart to me, after the death of Cæsar. I should think myself, therefore, a disgrace to human nature, if I did not justify these your favourable sentiments, by every kind of good office in my power, as well as by the return of my warmest affection.

Continue yours to me, my dear Oppius, I entreat you; a request, however, which I prefer more in compliance with the customary form, than as thinking it in the least necessary. I recommend all my affairs in general to your protection, and leave it to Atticus to inform you in what particular points I desire your services. When I shall be more at leisure, you may expect a longer letter. In the mean time take care of your health, as the most agreeable instance you can give me of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I AM the more enamoured with this city[+], because I find you are much the favourite of every body in it. But I know not, in truth, where you are otherwise; and I should rather have told you, that even the absence of your freedman, Rufio, is no less regretted among them, than

[+] Cicero, after much debate with himself, concerning the voyage which he mentions in the preceding letter, at length fixed his resolution, and embarked. He sailed along the western coast of Italy, towards Rhegium; but came ashore every night, in order to lodge at the villa of some friend.— He was in this manner pursuing his voyage into Greece, when he wrote the present letter from Velia, a sea port town on the coast of Lucania.

than if he were a person of as much consequence as you and I. However, I by no means disapprove of your having called him from hence, in order to superintend the buildings you are carrying on in the Lupercal[5]: for, notwithstanding your house at Velia is altogether as agreeable as that which you have in Rome, yet I should prefer the latter to all the possessions you enjoy here. Nevertheless, if you should take the opinion of a man whose advice you seldom reject, you will not part with your patrimony on the banks of the noble Heles, nor forsake a villa which had once the honour of belonging to Papirius; an intention which the citizens of Velia are in some fear lest you should entertain. But although it be incommoded, indeed, by the great concourse of strangers who visit the adjoining grove; yet that objection may easily be removed, you know, by cutting down[6] this impertinent

[5] A range of buildings in Rome, so called from an ancient temple of the same name, which had been formerly erected upon that spot, to the god Pan. *Dion. Halicarn.* l. 24.

[6] Groves were generally consecrated to some divinity, as this seems to have been, by the number of strangers who probably frequented it on a religious account. Instead of *lucum*, therefore, which is the reading adopted by Manutius, and followed in the translation, some of the commentators have thought it should be *lotum*; because, if it were a consecrated grove, it could not be cut down without committing an act of impiety. But this objection is founded upon the mistake that Cicero spoke in a serious sense, what he seems plainly to have intended in a ludicrous one.

pertinent plantation; which will prove a very considerable advantage likewise both to your pocket and your prospect. To speak seriously, it is a great convenience, especially in such distracted times as the present, to be possessed of an estate which affords you a refuge from Rome, in a pleasant and healthy situation, and in a place where you are so universally beloved. To these considerations, I will add, my dear Trebatius, that, perhaps, it may be for my advantage also, that you should not part with this villa. But, whatever you may determine, take care both of yourself and my affairs; and expect to see me, if the gods permit, before the end of the year.

I have purloined from Sextius Fadius, one of Nico's disciples, a treatise which the latter has written concerning the pleasures of the palate. Agreeable physician! how easily will he make me a convert to his doctrine! Our friend Bassus was so jealous of this treasure, that he endeavoured to conceal it from me: but I imagine, by the freedom of your table indulgencies, that he has been less reserved in communicating the secrets of it to you.——The wind has just now turned to a favourable point, so that I must bid you farewel.

Velia, July the 20th.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same.

You see the influence you have over me: though, indeed, it is not greater than what you are justly entitled to, from that equal return of friendship you make to mine. I could not, therefore, be easy in the reflection, I will not say of having absolutely refused, but of not having complied, however, with the request you made me, when we were lately together. Accordingly, as soon as I set sail from Velia, I employed myself in drawing up the treatise you desired, upon the plan of Aristotle's topics[7]: as, indeed, I could not look upon a city in which you are so generally beloved, without being reminded of my friend. I now send you the produce of my meditations: which I have endeavoured to express with all the perspicuity that a subject of this nature will admit. Nevertheless, if some passages should appear dark; you must do me the justice to remember, that no science can be rendered perfectly intelli-

gible

[7] The treatise here mentioned, is still extant among Cicero's works: and appears to be a sort of epitome of what Aristotle had long before published upon the same subject. The principal design of it is, to point out the several sources from whence arguments upon every question may be derived.

gible, without the assistance of a master to explain and apply its rules. To send you no farther, for an instance, than to your own profession, could a knowledge of the law be acquired merely from books? Undoubtedly it could not: for although the treatises which have been written upon that subject are extremely numerous; yet they are by no means of themselves sufficient instructors, without the help of some learned guide to enlighten their obscurities. However, with respect to the observations in the present performance; if you give them a frequent and attentive perusal, you will certainly be able to enter into their meaning: but the ready application of them can only be attained by repeated exercise. And in this exercise I shall not fail to engage you, if I should return safe into Italy, and find the republic in a state of repose. Farewel.

Rhegium[8], July the 28th.

LETTER

[8] A sea-port upon the western point of Calabria, opposite to Sicily: it is now called *Regio*.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 709.]

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors[9], to ANTONY, Consul.

THE letter we have received from you is altogether agreeable to your late contumelious and menacing edict, and by no means becoming *you* to have written to *us*. We have in no sort, Antony, given you any just provocation: nor could we have imagined, that you would look upon it as any thing extraordinary, if, invested as we are with the high authority of prætors, we thought proper, in a public manifesto, to signify our requests to the consul. But if it raises your indignation that we presumed to take this liberty as prætors, allow us to lament that you should not indulge us in it at least as friends.

We receive it as an instance of your justice, that you deny ever having complained of our levying

[9] The prætors could not legally absent themselves from Rome for above ten days, unless they obtained a special dispensation from the senate for that purpose. Brutus and Cassius, therefore, not thinking it safe to trust themselves in the city, published a sort of manifesto, directed to Antony as consul, requesting him to move the senate for this licence in their favour. Antony, instead of complying with their request, seems to have answered it by publishing a manifesto on his part, which was followed, likewise, by a private letter that produced the present epistle.

levying troops and contributions, and making applications to the armies, both at home and abroad, to rise in our defence: a charge, which we likewise disavow, in every particular. We cannot but wonder, however, since you were silent upon this head, that you should be so little able to command yourself upon another, as to reproach us with the death of Cæsar.

We leave it to your own reflections to determine what sentiments it ought to create in us, that the prætors of Rome, in order to preserve the tranquillity and liberties of the commonwealth, cannot publish a manifesto declaring their desire of retiring from the execution of their office, without being insulted by the consul. 'Tis in vain, however, that you would intimidate us by your arms: for it would ill become the spirit we have shewn, to be discouraged by dangers of any kind. As little should Antony attempt to usurp an authority over those, to whom he is himself indebted for the liberty he enjoys. To the free and independent, the menaces of any man are perfectly impotent. Had we a design, therefore, of having recourse to arms, your letter would be altogether ineffectual to deter us from our purpose. But, you are well convinced, that no consideration can prevail with us to rekindle the flames of a civil war: and, perhaps, you artfully threw out these menaces,

menaces, in order to persuade the world that our pacific measures are the effect, not of choice, but timidity.

To speak plainly our sentiments; we wish to see you raised to the highest honours; but to honours that are conferred by a free republic. It is our desire, likewise, not to engage with you in any contests: but we must add, that the possession of our liberties is of far higher value in our esteem than the enjoyment of your friendship. Well consider what you undertake, and how far you may be able to carry it into execution; reflecting, not how many years Cæsar was permitted to live, but how short a period he was suffered to reign[1]. In the mean while, we implore the gods to inspire you with such counsels as may tend to the advantage both of yourself, and of the commonwealth. But should they prove otherwise, we wish that the consequence may be as little detrimental to your own interest, as shall be consistent with the dignity and safety of the republic.

August the 4th.

LETTER

[1] Cæsar did not continue longer than five months in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation: for he returned to Rome from the conquest of Pompey's sons in Spain, in the month of October 708, and was assassinated in the March following. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 56.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 709.]

To PLANCUS[2].

I HAD left Rome, and was actually on my voyage to Greece, when I was recalled by the general voice of the republic[3]: but the conduct of Marc Antony, ever since my return, has not permitted

[2] Some general account of Plancus has already been given in rem. 6. p. 221. vol. ii. In the beginning of the present year he was appointed by Cæsar governor of the farther Gaul: where he now was, at the head of three legions. He is said, during his residence in that province, to have founded the city of Lions. Upon the death of Cæsar, to whom he had been warmly attached, Cicero employed all his art to engage him on the side of the senate: and Plancus, after much hesitation, at length declared himself accordingly. But this declaration seems to have been entirely the effect of a belief that the rupture between Antony and the senate was upon the point of being accommodated: it is certain, at least, that it was not sincere. For Plancus soon afterwards betrayed the cause he had thus professed to support, and went over with his troops to Antony. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 465. *Senec. Ep.* 91. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 63. See note 11. p. 384. of this vol.

[3] The principal motive of Cicero's intended voyage into Greece, was in order to avoid the danger of taking part in a civil war, which he apprehended would soon break out between Antony and young Pompey; the latter being expected from Spain, at the head of a considerable army. But as his leaving Italy at so critical and important a conjuncture might justly expose him to the censure of unworthily deserting the republic, he was long and greatly embarrassed between the desire of preserving his character on the one side, and of securing his person on the other: the two points which seem, throughout his whole life, to have held him in perpetual suspense. However, he at length embarked: but he no sooner sailed, than he repented, as usual, of the step he had taken.

Nevertheless

permitted me to enjoy a moment of repose. The ferocity (for to call it pride would be imputing a vice to him which is nothing uncommon) the ferocity of his temper is so excessive, that he cannot bear a word, or even a look, which is animated with the least spirit of liberty. It is this that fills my heart with a thousand disquietudes: but disquietudes, in which my own preservation is by no means concerned. No, my friend, I have nothing farther to wish with respect to myself; whether I consider the years to which I am arrived[+], the actions that I have performed, or the glory (if that may be mentioned as of any value in the account) with which they have been crowned. All my anxiety is for our country alone; and the more so, my dear Plancus, as the time appointed for your

Nevertheless, he pursued his voyage, and arrived in Sicily; from whence he proposed to stretch over into Greece; but, in attempting this passage, he was blown back by contrary winds on the coast of Italy. Upon his going ashore, in order to refresh himself, he was informed, by some of the principal inhabitants of that part of the country who were just arrived from Rome, that there were great hopes Antony would accommodate affairs to the general satisfaction of all parties. This news was followed by a letter from Atticus, pressing him to renounce his intended voyage, as also by an interview with Brutus, who likewise expressed his disapprobation of that scheme. Upon these considerations, therefore, he gave up all farther thoughts of Greece, and immediately returned to Rome. *Vid. Ad Att.* xiv. 13, 22. xv. 19, 20, 21, 33. xvi. 6, 7.

[+] Cicero was, at this time, in his 63d year.

your succession to the consular office[5] is so remote, that it is rather to be wished than expected, that we should be able to preserve our liberties so long alive. What rational hopes, indeed, can possibly be entertained, where a commonwealth is totally oppressed by the arms of the most violent and outrageous of men, where neither the senate nor the people have any authority; where neither laws nor justice prevail; and, in one word, where there is not the least trace or shadow of civil government remaining? But as you receive, I imagine, the public accounts of what is transacted amongst us, I need not descend into a detail of particulars. Let me rather, in consequence of that affection I bear you, and which has been still increasing from our earliest youth; let me rather remind and exhort you, to turn all your thoughts and cares towards the republic. If it should not be utterly destroyed ere you enter upon the consular office, it may, without difficulty, be steered right. Tho' I will add, that much vigilance as well as great good fortune must concur, in order to preserve it to that desirable period. But I hope we may see you here, somewhat before that time

[5] Plancus was in the number of those whom Cæsar had named to the consulate, in that general designation of magistrates which he made a short time before his death. But as Plancus stood last in the list, his turn was not to commence till the year 711.

time shall arrive. Mean while, besides the inducements that arise to me from my regard to the well-being of the republic, you may be assured that, from my particular attachment likewise to yourself, I shall exert my utmost efforts for the advancement of your credit and honours. By these means, I shall have the satisfaction to discharge, at once, the duties I owe both to my country and to my friend: to that country which is the object of my warmest affections, and to that friend whose amity I would most religiously cultivate.

I am extremely rejoiced, though by no means surprised, to find that you treat Furnius[6] agreeably to his rank and merit. Be assured that whatever favours you shall think proper to confer upon him, I shall consider them as so many immediate instances of your regard to myself. Farewel.

LETTER

[6] He was lieutenant to Plancus in Gaul.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 709.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul[7] elect, to CICERO.

IF I entertained the least doubt of your inclinations to serve me, I should be extremely copious in my solicitations for that purpose: but I have strongly persuaded myself, that my interest is already a part of your care.

I led my army against the most interior inhabitants of the Alps, not so much from an ambition of being saluted with the title of *Imperator*[8], as in order to comply with the martial spirit of my troops, and to strengthen their attachment to our cause. In both these views, I have, I think, succeeded: as the soldiers have had an opportunity, by this measure, of experiencing

7 Decimus Brutus was nominated by Cæsar to be colleague with Plancus: of whose appointment to the consular office, mention has been made in rem. 5. on the preceding epistle. Soon after the rest of the conspirators found it necessary to leave Rome, Decimus withdrew into Cisalpine Gaul, in order to take possession of that province which had been allotted to him by Cæsar, and to put himself in a posture of defence against the attempts which Antony was meditating. Shortly after his arrival in that province, he employed his troops in an expedition against certain inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains; and having happily executed this scheme, he wrote the following letter to request Cicero's suffrage in procuring him those distinctions which the senate usually decreed to their successful generals.

8 See vol i. p. 1. rem. 1.

encing the courage and the generosity of their general. I was engaged with the most warlike of these people: and have taken and destroyed great numbers of their forts. In short, I thought the action sufficiently considerable, to send an account of it to the senate. I hope, therefore, you will support my pretensions with your suffrage: as it will, at the same time, be greatly contributing to the credit of the common cause. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 709.]

To Decimus Brutus, Consul elect.

It is of much consequence to the success of this epistle, whether it reaches you in an anxious, or an easy hour. Accordingly, I have directed the bearer to watch the favourable moment of delivering it into your hands: as there is a time, my friend, when a letter, no less than a visit, may prove extremely unseasonable. But if he should observe the caution I have enjoined him, and this should find you, as I hope it will, in a state of mind perfectly serene and undisturbed, I doubt not of your ready compliance with the request I am going to make.

Lucius Lamia offers himself as a candidate, at the

the ensuing election of prætors. There is no man with whom I live in an equal degree of familiarity: as we are intimately, indeed, united by a long acquaintance. But what greatly, likewise, recommends him to me is, that nothing affords me more entertainment than his company. To this I must add, the infinite obligations I received from him in my affair with Clodius. He was at that time at the head of the equestrian order; and he entered with so much spirit into my cause, that the consul Gabinius commanded him to withdraw from Rome; an indignity never offered before to any citizen of the republic. As the world has not forgotten what he thus suffered upon my account, I am sure it would be the highest reproach upon my character if I did not remember it myself: and, therefore, my dear friend, be well assured that the good or ill success of Lamia, in his present pursuit, will no less sensibly affect me, than if I were personally concerned. Notwithstanding, therefore, the illustrious character which Lamia bears, together with the great popularity he has acquired by the magnificence of the games he exhibited when he was ædile, yet I am labouring with as much assiduity to promote his interest, as if he had none of these advantages to recommend him.

him. If then I possess that share in your affection which I am well persuaded I enjoy; let me entreat you to write to Lupus to secure the votes of those equestrian centuries, over which you bear an unlimited sway. But not to detain you with a multiplicity of words, I will conclude all with most sincerely assuring you, that although there is nothing, my dear Brutus, which I have not reason to expect from your friendship; yet you can, in no instance, more effectually oblige me, than by complying with my present request. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same[9].

There is none of my friends with whom I live in so strict an intimacy, as with Lamia. To say that I am much indebted to his good offices, would not be speaking of them in the terms they deserve; for the truth is, (and it is a truth of which the whole republic is sensible) he has conferred upon me the highest and most generous obligations. Lamia, after having passed through the office of ædile with the greatest splendour and magnificence, now offers himself

as

[9] This letter seems to have been a kind of duplicate of the former; as it is written to the same person, and upon the same occasion.

as a candidate for the prætorship: and, it is universally acknowledged, that he wants neither interest nor dignity to support his pretensions. However, the opposition he is likely to meet with from his competitors is so strong, that I have many fears for the event; and, therefore, think myself obliged to be his general solicitor upon this occasion. I well know how much it is in your power to serve me in this affair, and I have no doubt of your inclination. Be assured, then, my dear Brutus, that you cannot more sensibly oblige me, than by assisting Lamia in his present pursuit: and it is with all the warmth of my heart that I entreat you to exert your utmost interest for that purpose. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

IT gives me great pleasure to find that my late speech[1] has received your approbation. If I could

[1] Upon Cicero's return to Rome, (see rem. 3. p. 134. of this vol.) he received a summons from Antony to attend a meeting of the senate, which was to be holden the next morning: but, as the business of this meeting was to decree certain divine honours to the memory of Cæsar, our author excused himself from being present. The following day, however, Antony being absent, Cicero ventured to appear in the senate: when he delivered the speech to which he here alludes,

could more frequently enforce the same sentiments, the liberties of the republic might easily be recovered. But that far more desperate and detestable scoundrel[a] than he[b] at whose death you said, "the worst of all villains is expired," is watching for a pretence to begin his murderous purposes: and his single view, in charging me with having advised the killing of Cæsar, is merely to excite the veteran soldiers against my life. But this is a danger which I am not afraid to hazard, since he gives me a share with you in the honour of that glorious deed. Hence it is, however, that neither Piso, who first ventured to inveigh against the measures of Antony, nor myself, who made a speech to the same purpose about a month[2] afterwards, nor Publius Servilius, who followed my example, can any of us appear with safety in the senate. For this inhuman gladiator has evidently a design upon our lives: and he hoped to have rendered me the first victim of his cruel vengeance. With this sanguinary view he entered the senate on the 19th of September, having several days before retired to the villa of Metellus, in order to prepare an inflammatory speech against me[3]. But who

ludes, and which is the first of those that are called his *Philippics*. See life of Cic. iii. 81.

[a] Antony. [b] Cæsar.

[2] The speech mentioned in the preceding remark.

[3] It was in answer to this speech that Cicero composed his

who shall reconcile the silent meditations of eloquence with the noisy revels of lewdness and debauchery? Accordingly, it was the opinion of all his audience, (as I have already, I believe, mentioned to you in a former letter,) that he could not so properly be said to have delivered a speech, as to have discharged, with his usual indecency, the horrid fumes of his scandalous intemperance.

You are persuaded, you tell me, that my credit and eloquence will be able to produce some good effect. And some indeed they have produced, considering the sad situation of our affairs. They have rendered the people sensible, that there are three persons of consular rank, who, because they are in the interest of the republic, and have spoken their sentiments in the senate with freedom, cannot attend that assembly without the danger of being assassinated. And this is all the good you are to expect from my oratory.

A certain relation of yours[4] is so captivated with his new alliance, that he no longer concerns himself in the success of your games; but, on the contrary, is mortified to the last degree at those peals of applause with which your brother was distinguished.

his second Philippic; which, however, he did not deliver. For, by the advice of his friends, he absented himself from this meeting of the senate, as they did not think it safe for him to be present. *Manut.*

[4] Lepidus is supposed to be the person here meant: as he was related to Cassius by his own marriage, and had lately married his son to Antony's daughter.

distinguished[5]. Another of your family[6] has been softened by some grants which it is pretended that Cæsar had designed to confer upon him. This, however, might be borne with patience; but is it not utterly beyond endurance, that there should be a man who dares openly avow, that he supports the measures of that scoundrel, Antony, with the hopes that his son will be chosen consul when you and Brutus are entitled to be candidates for that office? As to our friend, Lucius Cotta, a fatal despair (for so he terms it himself) has almost entirely driven him from the senate. Lucius Cæsar, that firm and excellent patriot, is prevented from coming thither by his ill state of health; and Servius Sulpicius, who is a true friend to the cause of liberty, and whose authority might be of infinite service in the present conjuncture, is, unhappily, absent from Rome. After having mentioned these, I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot add any others, excepting the consuls elect, who may be justly deemed as well-wishers to the republic. The truth is, these

[5] Brutus and Cassius were obliged, as prætors, to exhibit certain games in honour of Apollo, with which the public were annually entertained on the third of July; but as they had withdrawn themselves from Rome, these games were conducted by the brother of Cassius.

[6] It is not known to whom Cicero alludes in this place, nor in the period immediately following.

these are the only persons upon whose advice and authority the commonwealth can depend. And small, indeed, would their number be, even in the best of times; how unequal, then, must their strength be found, to combat against the worst? All our hopes, therefore, rest entirely upon you and Brutus; I mean, if you have not withdrawn from us with a view only to your own preservation; for, if that should be the case, we have nothing, alas! to hope either from Brutus or from you. But if, on the contrary, you are forming some glorious enterprise, worthy of your exalted characters, I doubt not that the republic, by your assistance, will soon recover her liberties; and I have only to wish, that I may not be destroyed ere that happy day shall arrive. In the mean time, my best services neither are, nor shall be, wanting to your family; and whether they should apply to me for that purpose, or not, I shall never fail to give them proofs of my friendship towards you. Farewel.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 709.]

To Plancus.

Agreeably to the friendship which subsists between us, my services should not have been wanting to advance your dignities[7], if I could have been present in the senate, consistently with my honour or my safety. But no man can freely deliver his opinion in that assembly, without being exposed to the violences of a military force, that are licensed to commit their outrages with full impunity; and it would ill become my rank and character to speak upon public affairs, in a place where I am more attentively observed, and more closely surrounded, by soldiers than by senators. In any instance of private concern, my best offices shall not be wanting to you; nor shall they, indeed, even in those of a public nature, whatever hazard I may run, where my appearance is absolutely necessary to promote your interest. But where it may be equally advanced without my concurrence, suffer me, I entreat you, to pay a proper regard to my own dignity and preservation. Farewel.

LETTER

[7] The occasion on which Plancus had applied to Cicero for his services in the senate, does not appear.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 709.]

To Caius Cassius.

The malignant spirit of your friend[a] breaks out every day with greater and more open violence. To instance, in the first place, the statue which he has lately erected near the rostrum, to Cæsar, under which he has inscribed, To THE EXCELLENT FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY; intimating, that you and your heroic associates are to be considered, not only as assassins, but parricides. In which number I am, likewise, included; for this outrageous man represents me as the principal adviser and promoter of your most glorious enterprise. Would to heaven the charge were true! for had I been a party in your councils, I should have put it out of his power thus to perplex and embarrass our affairs[8]. But this was a point which

[a] Antony.

[8] Cicero frequently reproaches the conspirators with having committed a capital mistake in sparing Antony when they destroyed Cæsar, an error which our author would have prevented, it seems, had they admitted him into their councils. But it may be affirmed, (and upon the authority of Cicero himself) that nothing could have been more unjustifiable than to have rendered Antony a joint victim with Cæsar. 'Tis true, there was an ancient law subsisting by which every one was authorised to lift up his sword against the man who should discover any designs of invading the public liberties. But Antony was so far from having given indications of

which depended upon yourselves to determine; and, since the opportunity is now over, I can only wish that I were capable of giving you any effectual advice. But the truth is, I am utterly at a loss in what manner to act myself, for to what purpose is resistance, where one cannot oppose force by force?

It is evidently the intent of Cæsar's party to revenge his death. And, accordingly, Antony being on the 2d of October last presented to the people by Canutius[9], mentioned the generous deliverers of our country in terms that traitors alone deserve. He scrupled not to assert, likewise, that you had acted entirely by my advice; and that Canutius, also, was under the same influence. He had the mortification, however, to leave the rostrum with great disgrace. In a word, you may judge what are the designs of this faction by their having seized the appointments of your lieutenant[1]; for does not their conduct, in this instance, sufficiently declare,

of this kind at Cæsar's death, that Cicero, in a letter written to Atticus, soon afterwards, tells him, he looked upon Antony as a man too much devoted to the indulgencies of a luxurious life, to be inclined to form any schemes destructive of the public repose: *quem quidem ego* (says he) *epularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.* Plut. in vit. Publicol. Ad Att. vi. 3.

[9] He was one of the tribunes for the present year.

[1] As proconsul of Syria; to which province Cassius was, probably, on his way when this letter was written.

declare, that they considered this money as going to be remitted to a public enemy? Wretched condition, indeed! that we, who scorned to submit to a master, should more ignobly crouch to one of our fellow slaves! Nevertheless, I am still inclined to flatter myself, that we are not quite deprived of all hopes of being delivered by your heroic efforts. But where then, let me ask, are your troops? And with this question I will conclude my letter; as I had rather leave the rest to be suggested by your own reflections, than by mine. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 709.]

To CORNIFICIUS.

STRATORIUS has given me an ample account of the sad situation of affairs in your province[2]. Oh, my friend, what insufferable outrages are committed in every part of the Roman dominions! But those which have been offered to yourself, are so much the less to be borne, as they are aggravated by the superior veneration which is due to your illustrious rank and character. Notwithstanding, therefore, that your great and generous spirit may incline you to look upon these insults with calmness, and, perhaps,

[2] Of Africa. See rem. 6. p. 61. of this vol.

perhaps, with indifference, yet you ought by no means to suffer them to pass unchastised.

The news of Rome, I well know, is regularly transmitted to you, otherwise I would take upon myself to be your informer; and particularly of the late attempt of Octavius[3]. The fact laid to his charge is considered by the populace as a mere fiction of Antony, in order to gain a pretence to seize upon the young man's estate. But the more penetrating and better sort, not only credit the report, but highly approve the design. Indeed, the hopes of the republic are greatly turned towards Octavius; as there is nothing which his generous thirst of glory, 'tis believed, will not animate him to perform. My friend Antony, at the same time, is so sensible of his being generally detested, that although he discovered the

[3] "Octavius, in order to maintain by stratagem what he "could not gain by force, formed a design against Antony's "life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate "him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards, "in Antony's house." Thus far Dr. Middleton; who might have added (as a learned critic has remarked) that Cicero himself, together with his nephew Quintus, were charged by Antony with being accomplices in this plot; and that the charge appears to have been true. For though, in the present letter, indeed, Cicero talks of this affair as if he was no otherwise acquainted with it than by common report; yet, in a speech which he afterwards made in the senate, when Antony had retired into Gaul, taking notice of the above-mentioned accusation, he avows and glories in the charge. *Life of Cic.* iii. 89. *Tunstal's observ. on the letters between Cic. and Brut.* p. 142. *Philip.* iii. 7. 8.

the assassins in his house, yet he would not venture to make the affair public. He set out for Brundisium on the 9th of October, in order to meet the four legions[4] that are returning from Macedonia; he hopes, by bribing them over to his interest, to conduct them to Rome, and with their assistance to fix the yoke upon our necks. Thus you see the situation of the republic! if a republic, indeed, it may with any propriety be called, where all is in a state of intestine war. I frequently lament your fortune, in having been born so late, as never to have tasted the happiness of living in a sound and well-regulated commonwealth. You remember the time, however, when there was a prospect, at least, of better days, but now that prospect is no more! How in truth should it any longer subsist, after Antony dared to declare, in a general assembly of the people, that "Canutius affected to rank himself with "those[5] who could never appear in Rome, so "long as he preserved his life and authority." But thanks to philosophy for having taught me to endure this and every other mortification, which human nature can possibly suffer; and, indeed, it has not only cured me of all my disquietudes,

[4] These were part of that army which Cæsar intended to lead against the Parthians, and which he had sent before him into Macedonia, to wait his arrival for that purpose.

[5] The conspirators.

tudes, but armed my breast against every future assault of fortune. And let me advise you to fortify yourself with the same resolution; in the full persuasion that nothing but guilt deserves to be considered as a real evil. But these are reflections which you know much better how to make, than I can instruct you.

Stratorius has always been highly in my esteem; but he has rendered himself more particularly so, by the great diligence, fidelity, and judgment he discovers in the management of your affairs. Take care of your health, as the most pleasing instance you can give me of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same.

My very intimate and most accomplished friend, Caius Anicius, has obtained a titular legation[6] into Africa, in order to transact some business relating to his private concerns in that province. Let me, therefore, entreat your best offices to him upon all occasions, and that you would give him your assistance, for the more easy and expeditious dispatch of his affairs. But above all (as it is superior to all in my friend's estimation)

[6] See rem. 8. p. 84. of this vol.

estimation) I recommend the dignity of his rank and character to your peculiar regard; and accordingly I make it my request, that you would appoint lictors to attend him. This is a compliment which I always spontaneously paid, during my own proconsulate, to those of senatorial rank, who came into my province; and which I have ever, likewise, myself received upon the same occasions; as, indeed, it is what I have both heard and observed to have been generally practised by proconsuls of the greatest distinction. You will act, then, in the same manner, my dear Cornificius, in the present instance, if I have any share in your affection; and in all other respects will consult the honour and interest of my friend; assuring yourself that you cannot confer upon me a more acceptable service. Farewel.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 709.]

To TIRO.

I SEE into your scheme: you have a design that *your* letters, as well as mine[7], should make their appearance in public. But, tell me, how happened

[7] It appears, from an epistle to Atticus, that Cicero had formed a design, about this time, of publishing a collection of his letters. It is probable, however, that the greater part of those which are now extant were sent into the world at different

happened it, that you, who are wont to be the supreme judge and critic of my writings, should be guilty of so inaccurate an expression, as to desire me "*faithfully*[8] to preserve my health?" That adverb surely can have no business there, as its proper employment is to attend upon some word that imports a moral obligation. In figurative language, its use, indeed, is various, as it may be applied even to inanimate and intellectual objects, provided (as Theophrastus observes) the metaphor be not too bold and unnatural. But we will reserve this for a conversation when we meet.

Demetrius has been here: but I had the address to avoid both him and his retinue.--- Doubtless, you will regret that you lost the opportunity

different times, and by different hands, after his decease: as there are many of them which one can scarce suppose that either himself, or any friend who had a regard to his memory, would have suffered to come abroad. *Vid. Ad Att.* xvi. 5.

[8] It is impossible, perhaps, to determine, precisely, wherein the impropriety of this expression consisted; as it does not appear from the original whether Tiro spoke of his own health or of Cicero's. In the translation, however, it is applied to the latter; as it seems to render the expression less critically just. For as Tiro was Cicero's slave, the care of his health was a duty which the former owed to the latter, as a necessary means of enabling him to perform those services to which Cicero had a right. Accordingly, therefore, to our author's own remark, concerning the literal use of the word *fidelis*, Tiro might very properly have applied it in the sense here mentioned. But there was no such duty owing from the master to the slave; and consequently Tiro could not, in strict propriety, have applied it to Cicero.

opportunity of seeing him. It is an opportunity, however, which you may still recover: for he returns, it seems, to-morrow. Accordingly, I purpose to leave this place the next morning.

I am extremely uneasy about your health, and entreat you not to omit any means that may contribute to its re-establishment. It is thus that you will render me insensible of your absence, and abundantly discharge all the services I require at your hands.

I am obliged to your good offices towards Cuspius; for I greatly interest myself in the success of his affairs. Adieu.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 709.]

To CORNIFICIUS.

QUINTUS TURIUS, who was an African merchant of great probity, as well as of an honourable family, is lately dead. He has appointed Cneius Saturninus, Sextus Aufidius, and Caius Anneius, together with Quintus Considius Gallus, Lucius Servilius Posthumus, and Caius Rubellius, all of them men of the same worthy character as himself, his joint heirs. I find you have already treated them in so generous

rous a manner, that they have more occasion for my acknowledgments to you, than my recommendation: and, indeed, the favours they gratefully profess to have received from your hands, are more considerable than I should have ventured, perhaps, to request. Nevertheless, as I perfectly well know the regard you pay to my recommendation, I will take courage, and entreat you to add to those services which you have already, without my solicitation, so liberally conferred upon them. But what I am particularly to desire is, that you would not suffer Eros Turios, the testator's freedman, to continue to embezzle his late patron's effects. In every other instance, also, I recommend their interest to your protection, assuring you that you will receive much satisfaction from the regard and attachment of these my illustrious friends. Again and again, therefore, I very earnestly recommend them to your good offices. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 709.]

To DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

WHEN our friend Lupus arrived with your dispatches, I had retired from Rome[9], to a place where I thought I could be most secure from danger. For this reason, notwithstanding he took care that your letter[1] should be delivered into my hands, and continued some days in the city, yet he returned without receiving my answer. However, I came back hither on the 9th of this month[2], when I immediately, as my first and principal concern, paid a visit to Pansa[3], from whom I had the satisfaction of hearing such an account of you as was most agreeable to my wishes. As you wanted not any exhortations to engage you in the noblest enterprise

[9] Soon after Cicero's late return to Rome, (see rem. 3. p. 134. of this vol.) he came to an open rupture with Antony. He found it necessary, therefore, for his security, to remove from the city to some of his villas near Naples. *Life of Cic.* iii. 87.

[1] The same, probably, which stands the 21st in the present book, p. 138.

[2] December. Antony had just before left Rome, in order to march his army into Cisalpine Gaul. Upon the news of this retreat, Cicero immediately returned to the city.—*Life of Cic.* iii. 98.

[3] Consul elect for the ensuing year.

enterprise[4] that stands recorded in history; so I am persuaded they are altogether unnecessary in the present conjuncture. It may not be improper, nevertheless, just to intimate that the whole expectations of the Roman people, and all their hopes of liberty, are entirely fixed upon you. If you constantly bear in mind (what I well know is ever in your thoughts) the glorious part you have already achieved, most undoubtedly you can never forget how much there still remains for you to perform. In fact, should that man to whom I always declared myself a friend, till he openly and forwardly took up arms against the republic; should Antony possess himself of your province[5], I see not the least possibility of our preservation. I join my earnest intercessions, therefore, with those of the whole republic, that you would finish what you have so happily begun, and deliver us for ever from the tyranny of a despotic government. This patriot-task belongs particularly to yourself; and Rome, or, to speak more properly, every nation throughout the world, not only expects, but requires, their deliverance at your hands. But I am sensible (as I have already said) that you need no exhortations

[4] The killing of Cæsar.
[5] Cisalpine Gaul.

hortations to animate you for this purpose. I will spare my admonitions, therefore, and rather assure you (what, indeed, is more properly my part) that my most zealous and active services shall always be exerted for your interest. Be well persuaded, then, that, not only for the sake of the republic, which is dearer to me than my life, but from my particular regard likewise to yourself, I shall omit no opportunity of forwarding your glorious designs, and of promoting those honours you so justly deserve. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 709.]

To Cornificius.

There is no man that cultivates my friendship with greater marks of esteem than Sextus Aufidius; nor is there any of equestrian rank who bears a more distinguished character. The strictness of his morals is so happily tempered with the sweetness of his disposition, that he unites the severest virtue with the easiest and most engaging address. I recommend his affairs in Africa to you, with the utmost warmth and sincerity of my heart. You will extremely oblige me, therefore, by shewing him

him that you pay the highest regard to my recommendation; and I very earnestly entreat you, my dear Cornificius, to comply with this request. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 709.]

To Decimus Brutus, Consul-elect.

Marcus Seius has, I suppose, informed you what my sentiments were at the conference which Lupus held at my house with Libo, your relation Servilius, and myself; as he was present during the consultation. And, though Greceius immediately followed him, he can give you an account of all that passed after Seius set out[6].

The grand and capital point, which I could wish you to be well convinced of, and ever to bear in your mind, is, that in acting for the security of our common liberties, you ought, by no means, to wait the sanction of the senate; as that assembly is not yet sufficiently free and uncontrolled in its deliberations. To conduct yourself by a contrary principle, would be

[6] The principal intent of this consultation seems to have been to determine, whether Decimus Brutus should venture, without the express sanction of the senate, to act offensively against Antony; who was, at this time, on his march to dispossess Brutus of Cisalpine Gaul.

be to condemn the first glorious steps you took for the deliverance of the commonwealth, and which were so much the more illustrious, as they were unsupported by the formal suffrage of public authority. It would be to declare, that the measures of young Cæsar are rash and ill-considered; who, in the same unauthorised manner, has undertaken the important cause of the commonwealth[7]. In a word, it would be to shew the world that you thought those brave and worthy veterans your fellow-soldiers, together with the fourth and martial legions[8], had judged and acted irrationally, in deeming their consul an enemy to his country, and consecrating their arms to the service of the republic.

[7] When Antony set out for Brundisium, in order to meet the legions which were returning from Macedonia, as has been related in the 27th letter of this book, Octavius went amongst those veteran soldiers to whom Cæsar had granted settlements in Campania. From these he drew together, at his own expence, and by his private authority, a very considerable body of troops to oppose Antony, if he had thought proper to have made any attempts upon Rome with the Macedonian legions. *Philip*. ii. 2. 12. *Ad Att*. xvi. 8.

[8] The Roman legions were originally named according to the order in which they were raised, as the *first*, the *second*, &c. But as those legions which were occasionally raised in the provinces, were distinguished, likewise, in the same manner, it was usual to add to this numeral designation, some other, for the sake of avoiding confusion. This latter denomination was generally taken either from the country in which they served, as the *legio Parthica*, or from the name of the general who levied them, as the *legio Augusta*; or from the name of some divinity, as in the present instance, the *legio Martia*. *Rosin. de Antiq. Rom*. p. 966.

public[9]. To pursue measures which are agreeable to the general sense of the senate, may be well considered as acting under their express authority; when it is fear alone that restrains them from signifying their approbation in a formal manner. In fine, you can no longer hesitate, whether you should be guided by the principle I am recommending, as you have in two strong instances been governed by it already; first, on the ides of March, and lately when you raised your troops. Upon the whole, then, you ought to be both disposed and prepared to act, not merely as you shall be commanded, but in such a manner as to render your achievements the subject of universal admiration and applause. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 709.]

To the same.

OUR friend Lupus very punctually delivered your commands and your letter to me, the next morning after his arrival in Rome; which was in six days after his leaving Mutina[1]. I cannot but

[9] These two legions (part of those which arrived from Macedonia) refused the offers which Antony made to them at Brundisium, and afterwards joined themselves with Octavius. *Ad Att.* xvi. 8. *Philip.* iii. 3.

[1] A city in Cisalpine Gaul, where Decimus Brutus was shortly afterwards besieged by Antony. It is now called *Modena.*

but consider you as recommending my own honours to my protection, when you request me to be the guardian of yours; for, be assured, they are equally my concern. It will give me great pleasure, therefore, to find, that you doubt not of my promoting them, upon every occasion, to the best of my zeal and judgment. Accordingly, although I had purposed not to appear in the senate before the first of January next, yet the tribunes of the people, having on that very day on which your manifesto[2] was published, issued out a proclamation for a meeting of the senate on the 20th of this month[3], in order to move that a guard might be appointed for the security of the consuls elect[4]; my affection towards you, induced me to change my resolution, and I determined to attend. I thought, indeed, it would be a most unpardonable omission, if the senate should be holden without taking notice of your inestimable services to the republic, as it unquestionably would have been if I had not attended; or that I should not be present to support any decree that might happen to be proposed for the advancement of your honours. For this reason,

[2] The purport of this manifesto of Dicimus Brutus, was to declare his resolution of endeavouring to preserve the province of Cisalpine Gaul, over which he presided, in its allegiance to the republic. *Philip.* iii. 4.

[3] December.

[4] Hirtius and Pansa.

reason, I came early into the senate, and my presence brought together a great number of the members. I will leave it to your other friends, to inform you what I there said to your advantage; as well as of the speech which I afterwards made to the same purpose, in a very numerous assembly of the people[5]. In the mean time, let me entreat you to believe, that I shall most zealously embrace every opportunity of contributing to the increase of those dignities you already possess; and although I am sensible I shall meet with many rivals in my good offices for this purpose, yet I will venture to claim the first rank in that honourable list. Farewel.

LETTER

[5] These two speeches are the third and fourth of the Philippics. The senate, amongst other decrees which they passed upon this occasion, approved and ratified the measures which Decimus Brutus had taken in Cisalpine Gaul for the defence of that province. *Philip.* iv. 4.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 709.]

To Cornificius.

I am waging war here against that most iniquitous of all sanguinary ruffians, my colleague[6] Antony; but by no means, however, upon equal terms; as I have nothing but my tongue to oppose to his arms. He ventured, in a speech which he lately made to the people, to throw out some bitter invectives against you. But his insolence did not pass unchastised; and he shall have still farther reason to remember, against whom it is that he has thus pointed his injurious attacks. But, as your other friends, I imagine, supply you with accounts of our transactions, I should rather inform you what turn affairs are likely to take; and, indeed, it is a point of no very difficult conjecture. The republic labours under a total oppression; her friends are without a leader, and our glorious tyrannicides are dispersed into different and distant quarters. Pansa means well to the commonwealth, and delivers his sentiments with great spirit and freedom. Hirtius recovers but slowly[7]; and, in truth, I know not

[6] Antony and Cicero were colleagues as members of the college of Augurs.

[7] Pansa and Hirtius, as has already been noted, were consuls

not what to think of him. Our only hope is, that the people at last will be awakened from their lethargy, and act with a spirit becoming the descendants of their heroic ancestors. For myself, at least, I will never be wanting to my country; and whatever misfortune may attend the commonwealth after I have exerted my best efforts to prevent it, I shall bear it with perfect equanimity. You may depend, likewise, upon my supporting you in your rank and dignities, to the utmost of my power. Accordingly, in an assembly of the senate, which was holden on the 20th of this month[8], I proposed (among other necessary and important articles, which I carried by a great majority) that the present proconsuls should be continued in their respective governments; and that they should be ordered not to resign them into other hands, than those which the senate should appoint. I made this motion, not only as thinking it highly expedient for the interest of the republic, but with a particular view also of preserving you in your provincial command[9]. Let me exhort

consuls elect for the approaching year. The latter, about this time, was attacked by a most dangerous sickness; and his health was esteemed of so much importance, at this juncture, to the commonwealth, that public vows were put up for his recovery. *Philip.* vii. 4.

[8] December.

[9] Antony, a short time before he left Rome in order to march

exhort you, then, for the sake of our country, and let me conjure you by your regard to myself, not to suffer any man to usurp the least part of your authority; but, in every instance, to maintain the dignity of your rank and character, as a possession which nothing can countervail.

To deal with you agreeably to that sincerity which our friendship requires, I must tell you, that all the world would have highly applauded your conduct, if you had complied with my advice in regard to Sempronius. But the affair is now over; and, in itself, indeed, it was a matter of no great importance. It is of the utmost, however, that you should employ, as I hope you will, every possible mean to retain your province in its allegiance. I would add more, but your courier presses me to dispatch; I must entreat you, therefore, to make my excuses to Cherippus, for not writing to him by this opportunity. Farewel.

LETTER

march against Decimus Brutus, had procured an illegal distribution of the provinces among his friends; by which Caius Calvisius was appointed to succeed Cornificius in Africa. *Philip.* iii. *Pigh Annal.* ii. p. 465.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 709.]

QUINTUS CICERO to TIRO.

YOUR letter brought with it a very strong, though silent reproof, for my having thus long omitted writing to you. I could not, indeed, but be sensible how much I had lost by my negligence, when I observed that those points which my brother (from tenderness, perhaps, or haste) had but slightly touched in his letter, were faithfully represented in yours, in all their genuine colours. This was particularly the case, in respect to what you mentioned concerning the consuls elect[a]. I know, indeed, that they are totally sunk in sloth and debauchery: and if they should not recede from the helm, we are in the utmost danger of being irrecoverably lost. I was myself a witness, during a summer's campaign with them in Gaul, that they were guilty of such actions, and within sight too of the enemy's camp, as are almost beyond all belief: and I am well persuaded, unless we should be better supported than we are at present, that the scoundrel Antony will gain them over to his party, by admitting them as associates in his licentious pleasures.

[a] Pansa and Hirtius.

pleasures. The truth of it is, the republic must necessarily either throw herself under the protection of the tribunes, or employ some private hand to defend her cause: for as to these noble consuls of ours, one of them is scarce worthy to preside over Cæsena[1]; and I would not trust the other with superintending the paltry hovels of Cossutius[2].

I hope to be with you towards the latter end of this month. In the mean while, let me repeat what I have often said, that I tenderly love you. My impatience to see you is, indeed, so immoderate, that if our first meeting were to happen in the midst of the forum, I should not forbear to transgress the rules of good breeding, and most warmly embrace you in the presence of the whole assembly. Farewel.

LETTER

[1] "An obscure town in Italy, situated upon the Papis, "a river which empties itself into the Adriatic, between "Ufens and the Rubicon." Mr. *Ross*.

[2] Who this person was is unknown. Pique and prejudice seem to have had a considerable hand in the draught which Quintus has here delineated of the two consuls. That Pansa and Hirtius were infected with the fashionable vices of the age, is altogether probable; but that they wanted either spirit or capacity for action, is by no means true, as will evidently appear in the farther progress of these letters.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 709.]

CICERO, the Son[3], to his dearest TIRO.

After having been in daily and earnest expectation of your couriers, they are at length, to my great satisfaction, arrived, having performed their voyage in forty-six days from the time they left you. The joy I received from my dear father's most affectionate letter, was crowned by the very agreeable one which attended it from yourself. I can no longer repent, therefore, of having neglected writing to you; as it has proved a mean of furnishing me with an ample proof of your good-nature; and it is with much pleasure I find that you admit the apology I made for my silence.

That the advantageous reports you have heard of my conduct, were perfectly agreeable, my dearest Tiro, to your wishes, I can by no means doubt: and it shall be my constant endeavour

[3] He was at this time pursuing his studies at Athens, under the direction of Cratippus, one of the most celebrated philosophers of the peripatetic sect. If young Cicero had not the talents of his father, his genius, however, seems by no means to have been contemptible; and the present letter, written when he was but nineteen years of age, is a full confutation of those who have charged him with a want of sense, even to a degree of stupidity. See p. 320. of this vol.

deavour to confirm and increase the general good opinion which is thus arising in my favour. You may venture, therefore, with great confidence, to be, what you obligingly promise, the herald of my fame. Indeed, I reflect with so much pain and contrition of mind on the errors into which my youth and inexperience have betrayed me, that I not only look upon them with abhorrence, but cannot bear even to hear them mentioned: and I am well convinced that you take a part in the uneasiness which I suffer from this circumstance. It is no wonder you should be solicitous for the welfare of a person whom both interest and inclination recommend to your good wishes, as I have ever been desirous you should partake of all the advantages that attend me. But if my conduct has formerly given you pain, it shall henceforward, be assured, afford you reason to think of me with double satisfaction.

I live with Cratippus, rather as his son than his pupil; and not only attend his lectures with pleasure, but am extremely delighted with the peculiar sweetness of his conversation. Accordingly I spend whole days in his company, and frequently, indeed, the most part of the night, as I entreat him to sup with me as often as his engagements will permit. Since the introduction of

of this custom, he every now and then unexpectedly steals in upon us while we are at table; and, laying aside the severity of the philosopher, enters with great good humour into all the mirth and pleasantry of our conversation. Let me request you, then, to hasten hither as soon as possible, in order to enjoy with us the society of this most agreeable and excellent man. As to Bruttius, I never suffer him to be absent from me a single moment. His company is as entertaining as his conduct is exemplary; and he perfectly well knows how to reconcile mirth and good humour with the serious disquisitions of philosophy. I have taken a house for him near mine, and assist his narrow fortunes as far as my slender finances will admit[5].

I have begun to declaim in Greek, under Cassius, as I choose to employ myself in Latin exercises of that kind with Bruttius. I live in great familiarity also with those learned and approved friends of Cratippus, whom he brought with him from Mitylene, and pass much of my time likewise with Epicrates, one of the most considerable persons in Athens, together with Leonides, and several others of the same rank and

[5] The allowance which Cicero made to his son, during his residence at Athens, was about 700l. a year. *Vid. Ad Att.* xvi. 1,

and merit. Thus I have given you a general sketch of my life.

As to what you mention concerning Gorgias, notwithstanding that he was of service to me in my oratorical exercises, yet my father's commands were superior to all other considerations: and as he peremptorily wrote to me that I should immediately dismiss him[6], I have obeyed his injunctions. I would not suffer myself, indeed, to hesitate a moment, lest my reluctance should raise any suspicions in my father to my disadvantage. Besides, I thought it would ill become me to take upon myself to be a judge of the propriety of his orders. I am extremely obliged to you, however, for the friendly advice you give me in this affair.

I very readily admit the excuse you make on account of your want of leisure, perfectly well knowing how much your time is generally engaged. I am extremely glad to hear that you have bought a farm, and wish you much joy of the purchase. But you must not wonder that I deferred my congratulations to this part of my letter; for you will remember it was about the

[6] This unworthy tutor had encouraged his pupil in a passion for drinking, a vice in which the young Cicero, how sincere soever he might have been in his present resolves, most shamefully signalised himself in his more mature years.—*Plut. in vit. Cic.* *Plin. Hist. Nat.* xiv. 22.

the same place in yours that you communicated to me the occasion of them. You have now a retreat from all the fatiguing ceremonies of the city, and are become a Roman of the true old rural kind[7]. I take pleasure in figuring you to myself, in the midst of your country employments, buying your tools of husbandry, dealing out your orders to your bailiff, and carefully treasuring up the fruit-seeds from your desert. To be serious, I sincerely join with you in regretting that I could not be of service to you upon this occasion. But be assured, my dear Tiro, I shall not fail to assist you, if ever fortune should put it in my power; especially as I am sensible you made this purchase with a view to my use as well as your own.

I am obliged to your care in executing my commission. I desire you would see that I have a writer sent to me who understands Greek, as I lose much time in transcribing my lectures. But, above all, I entreat you to take care of your health, that we may have the pleasure of enjoying together many philosophical conversations. I recommend Antherus to your good offices, and bid you farewel.

LETTER

[7] Alluding, perhaps, to those celebrated Romans in the earlier ages of the republic, who, after having been called forth from their farms to the service of their country, discharged with glory the functions of the state, and then returned to their ploughs.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

From the same, to TIRO.

THE reasons you assign for the intermission of your letters are perfectly just; but I hope that these excuses will not very frequently recur. 'Tis true I receive intelligence of public affairs from particular expresses, as well as from general report; and am continually assured, likewise, of my father's affection, by his own hand; yet I always take great pleasure in reading a letter from yourself, be it upon ever so trifling a subject. I hope, therefore, since I am thus earnestly desirous of hearing from you, that you will not, for the future, send me apologies instead of epistles. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIX.

[A. U. 709.]

BITHYNICUS[8] to CICERO.

IF we were not mutually attached to each other, by many singular good offices, I should remind you of that friendship which formerly subsisted between our parents: but I leave arguments

[8] See rem. 6. p. 89. of this vol.

guments of this kind to those who have neglected to improve their hereditary connexions. For myself, I am well satisfied with going no farther for my claim to your services, than to our own personal amity. In confidence of which let me entreat you, if you believe that none of your favours will be thrown away upon me, that you would, upon all occasions, during my absence[9], take my interests under your protection. Farewel.

LETTER

[9] In Sicily: to which province he succeeded as governor at the expiration of his prætorship. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. p. 476.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XIII.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

To Cornificius[1].

I neglect no opportunity (and, indeed, if I did, I should fail in what you have a full right to expect from me) not only of celebrating your merit, but of promoting those honours it so justly deserves. But I choose you should be informed of my zealous endeavours for this purpose, by the letters of your family, rather than

[1] See rem. 6. p. 61. of this vol.

than by my hand. Let me employ it in exhorting you to turn all your care and your attention upon the republic. This is an object worthy of your spirit and your talents; as it is agreeable, likewise, to those hopes which you ought to entertain, of still rising in the dignities of your country. But this is a topic I will enlarge upon another time. In the mean while, I will inform you, that the public affairs are totally in suspense; as the commissioners are not yet returned, whom the senate deputed to Antony; not to sue for peace, indeed, but to denounce war, unless he shall immediately pay obedience to the orders with which they are charged[2].

I seized the first occasion that offered of resuming my former spirit, in standing forth as the protector both of the senate and the people: and from the moment I thus declared myself the

[2] These injunctions were, that Antony should instantly quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul. Cicero strongly opposed the sending this deputation, as it was below the dignity of the senate to enter into any sort of treaty with a man whom they had already, in effect, declared a public enemy; as it would have the appearance of fear; and, as the only method of bringing Antony to his duty, would be by an immediate and vigorous prosecution of the war. But these reasons, and others of the same tendency, which Cicero urged with great warmth and eloquence, were over-ruled by the friends of Antony: and it was ordered that Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Piso, and Lucius Philippus, all of them persons of consular rank, should carry this message from the senate to Antony. *Vid. Philip.* v.

the advocate of liberty, I have not lost the least favourable opportunity for the defence of our common rights. But this, likewise, is an article for which I choose to refer you to the information of others.

It is with all possible warmth and earnestness that I recommend Titus Pinarius to your favour, as one who, not only from a similitude of taste and studies, but as he is possessed also of every amiable virtue, engages my strongest affection. He comes into your province in order to superintend the affairs of Dionysius, who, as he is much, I am sensible, in your esteem, so no man stands higher in mine. Unnecessary, therefore, as I know it to be to recommend his interests to your protection, yet I cannot forbear doing so: and I doubt not of your giving occasion to the very grateful Pinarius of sending me a letter of acknowledgment for your good offices both to himself and to Dionysius. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

To DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

POLLA[3] sends me word that an opportunity offers of conveying a letter to you: but, at present, I have nothing material to write. All public business, indeed, is entirely suspended, till we shall hear what success the deputies[4] have met with, from whom we have not yet received any intelligence. I will take this occasion, however, of telling you, that the senate and the people are greatly anxious concerning you, not only as their own preservation depends upon yours, but as they are extremely solicitous that you should acquit yourself with glory. The truth is, you have, in a very remarkable degree, the general affection of the whole republic, which confidently hopes, that as you lately delivered us from one tyrant[5], so you will now free us from the danger of another[6].

We are raising troops[7] in Rome and throughout all Italy, if that term may, with any propriety, be

[3] The wife of Decimus Brutus.

[4] Those mentioned in the preceding letter.

[5] Cæsar.

[6] Antony.

[7] The senate did not suspend their preparations for war, notwithstanding the deputation they had sent to Antony. On the

be employed, where every man eagerly presses to enter into the service; so warmly are the people animated with a passion of recovering their liberties, and such is their abhorrence of the slavery they have thus long sustained!

We now expect soon to receive an account from you, not only of your own operations, but of those, likewise, of our common friend Hirtius, and of Cæsar, whom I must particularly call *mine*. I hope, shortly, to see you all three united in the general honour of one common victory. For the rest, I have only to add (what I had rather you should learn, however, from the letters of your family, and what I hope they are so just as to assure you) that I neither do, nor ever shall, neglect any opportunity of contributing to the advancement of your public honours. Farewel.

LETTER

the contrary, Hirtius and Octavius marched into Gaul at the head of a considerable army, while Pansa remained in Italy, in order to complete the additional troops with which he purposed to join them. *Life of Cic.* iii. 121.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

To Plancus[8].

The visit I lately received from Furnius[9] afforded me great satisfaction, not only upon his own account, but more particularly on yours, as he painted you so strongly to my mind, that I could not but fancy, during the whole conversation, that you were actually present. He represented to me the heroism you display in the military affairs of your province, the equity of your civil administration; the prudence which distinguishes every part of your conduct in general; together with what I was by no means, indeed, a stranger to before, the charms of your social and friendly qualities. To this he did not forget to add, likewise, the singular generosity which you have shewn in your behaviour towards himself. Every one of these articles I heard with pleasure; and, for the last, I am much obliged to you[1].

The friendship I enjoy with your family, my dear Plancus, commenced somewhat before you

[8] See rem. 2. p. 134. of this vol.

[9] He was one of the lieutenants of Plancus.

[1] Furnius had been particularly recommended by Cicero to the favour of Plancus. See let. 20. of the preceding book.

you were born: and, as the affection which I conceived for you begun from your childhood, so, in your more mature years, it was mutually improved into the strictest intimacy. These are considerations which strongly engage me to favour your interests: which I look upon, indeed, as my own. Merit, in conjunction with fortune, have crowned you, even thus early in your life, with the highest distinctions; as the diligent exertion of your superior talents has frustrated the opposition of those many envious antagonists, who vainly endeavoured to obstruct your way. And now, if you will be influenced by the advice of a man who greatly loves you, and who, from a long connexion with you, has an equal claim to your regard with the oldest of your friends, you will receive all the future honours of your life from the republic in its best and most constitutional form. There was a season, you know, (for nothing surely could have escaped your discernment) there was a season[2] when the world thought you too compliant with the prevailing faction of the times: and I should have thought so too, if I had imagined that your approbation was to be measured by your submission. But as I knew the sentiments of your heart,

[2] During Cæsar's usurpation.

heart, I was persuaded you had prudently considered the extent of your power. Public affairs, however, are at present in a far different situation; and you may now freely act in every point as your judgment shall direct. The time is shortly approaching, when, in consequence of your present designation, you will enter upon the consular office[3]; and you will enter upon it, my friend, in the prime of your years; with the advantage of possessing the noblest and most commanding eloquence; and, at a period too, when there is the utmost scarcity of such illustrious citizens as yourself. Let me conjure you, then, by the immortal gods, most earnestly to pursue those measures that will ensure the highest glory to your character. Now, there is but one possible method of acting towards the republic with this advantage to your reputation: at least, there is but one in the present conjuncture, as the commonwealth has for so many years[4] been disturbed by our intestine commotions.

When I write to you in this strain, it is rather in compliance with the dictates of my affection, than as supposing that you stand in need either of precepts or admonitions. I am sensible

[3] See rem. 5. p. 136. of this vol.
[4] The civil wars had now continued about seven years.

sensible that you are sufficiently supplied with reflections of this nature, from the same source whence I derive them myself: it is time, therefore, to put an end to what I designed, not as an ostentation of my wisdom, but merely as an instance of my friendship. I will only add, that you may depend upon the most zealous of my services upon every occasion, wherein I shall imagine your credit and character is concerned. Farewel.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS to CICERO.

I AM exceedingly obliged to you for your letter[5]: a favour, for which I am indebted, I perceive, to the account that Furnius gave of me in the conversation you mention. If I have not written to you sooner, you must impute it to my being informed that you were set out upon your expedition into Greece: and I was not apprised of your return till a very short time before I learned it from your letter. I mention this because I should think myself deserving of the highest reproach, if I were intentionally guilty of an omission, even in the slightest

[5] The preceding epistle.

slightest office of friendship towards you. The intimacy, indeed, which was contracted between you and my father; the early esteem I conceived of your merit, together with those instances of affection I have received from you, supply me with many powerful reasons for not failing in the regards I owe you. Be assured, therefore, my dear Cicero, there is no man whom I am so much disposed to revere as yourself: as, indeed, the great disparity of our ages, may well justify me in looking up to you with all the sacred respect of filial veneration. I received your admonitions, therefore, as so many dictates of the most consummate wisdom; at the same time that I considered them as instances, likewise, of your unfeigned sincerity; for, in this respect, I judge of *your* heart by what I feel in my *own*. If I had any doubt then, what measures to pursue, or were inclined to adopt others than those you recommend, I should most certainly be determined by your judgment, or restrained by your advice: but in my present situation, can there possibly be an inducement to draw me from those paths you point out? The truth is, that whatever honourable distinctions I have acquired, either by my own industry, or by the favours of fortune, though far inferior to what your affection re-

presents

presents them; yet they want no other lustre, perhaps, but that of having been attained with the general approbation of the commonwealth; and this even the most inveterate of my enemies acknowledge. Be assured then, that the whole of my power, my prudence, and my authority, shall ever be exerted in the service of the republic. As I am no stranger to your sentiments, I am well persuaded that mine would never disagree with yours, if I had the happiness of having you so near me as to be able to consult them. But though I cannot enjoy this very desirable advantage, yet I trust you will never have occasion to condemn my conduct.

I am extremely impatient to learn what is transacting in the nearer Gaul[6], as well as what effect the present month[7] may produce in regard to affairs at Rome. In the mean time, I am earnestly labouring to prevent the people of this province from pursuing the example of their neighbours, by taking advantage of the public disturbances to throw off their allegiance. And should my endeavours be attended

[6] Where Decimus Brutus commanded, who, at this time, was actually besieged in Modena by Mark Antony: a circumstance, to which Plancus, 'tis probable, was no stranger, though he thought proper to affect ignorance.

[7] January: when the new consuls always entered upon their office. The consuls for the present year were Hirtius and Pansa.

tended with the success they deserve, I doubt not of being approved, not only by every friend of liberty in general, but, what I am most ambitious of, by yourself in particular. Farewel, my dear Cicero, and love me with an equal return of that affection I bear you.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

To PLANCUS.

THE duplicate you sent me of your letter[8] was an instance of your obliging care lest I should be disappointed of what I so impatiently wished to receive. The contents afforded me a double satisfaction; and I am at a loss to determine whether the friendship you profess for myself, or the zeal you discover for the republic, rendered it most truly acceptable. To speak my own opinion, indeed, the public affections are altogether noble and sublime; but surely there is something more amiably sweet in those of the private kind. Accordingly, that part of your letter where you remind me of the intimacy in which I lived with your father, of the early disposition you found in yourself to love me, together with other passages to the same friendly purpose, filled my heart with the most exquisite pleasure, as the sentiments you profess with regard

[8] The foregoing.

regard to the commonwealth, raised in me the highest satisfaction: and, to say truth, I was so much the more pleased with the latter, as they were accompanied, at the same time, with the former.

To repeat what I said in the letter to which you have returned so obliging an answer, let me not only exhort, but entreat you, my dear Plancus, to exert your utmost powers in the service of the commonwealth. There is nothing that can more contribute to the advancement of your glory: for amongst all human honours, none most certainly is superior to that of deserving well of one's country. Your great good sense and good nature will suffer me, I know, to speak my sentiments to you with the same freedom that I have hitherto used. Let me again observe then, that the honours you have already acquired, though you could not, indeed, have attained to them without merit, yet they have principally been owing to fortune, in conjunction with the particular circumstances of the times. But whatever services you shall perform for the republic in this very critical conjuncture, will reflect a lustre upon your character, that will derive all its splendour from yourself alone. It is incredible how odious Antony is become to all sorts of people, except those only of the same dishonest views with himself:

himself: but the great hopes and expectations of the republic are fixed upon you and the army you command. Let me conjure you then, in the most solemn manner, not to lose so important an opportunity of establishing yourself in the esteem and favour of your fellow-citizens, or in other words, of gathering immortal praise. Believe me, it is with all the tenderness of a father that I thus admonish you; that I enter into your interests with as much warmth as if they were my own; and that my exhortations proceed from the zeal I bear for the glory of my friend, and the welfare of my country. Adieu.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

To CAIUS CASSIUS.

OH, that you had invited me to that glorious feast you exhibited on the ides of March! Be assured, I would have suffered none of it to have gone off untouched[9]. Whereas the part you unhappily spared, occasions me, above all others, more trouble than you can well imagine. I must acknowledge, at the same time,

[9] Alluding to the conspirators having spared Antony when they destroyed Cæsar. See rem. 8. p. 148. of this vol.

time, that we have two most excellent consuls[a]: but as to those of consular rank, there is not one of them who does not merit the highest reproach. The senate in general, however, exert themselves with spirit, as the lower order of magistrates distinguish themselves by their singular resolution and zeal. In a word, it is impossible to shew a better or more vigorous disposition than app[illegible] the populace, not only of Rome, but throughout all [illegible]. But Philippus and Piso, on the contrary, whom the senate deputed with peremptory orders to Antony[b], have executed their commission in a manner that raises our highest indignation. For notwithstanding that Antony refused to comply with every single article of the senate's injunctions, yet these unworthy deputies had the meanness to charge themselves with bringing back the most insolent demands*. This behaviour of theirs has occasioned all the world to have recourse to my assistance,

[a] Hirtius and Pansa.

[b] See rem. 2. on let. 1. of this book.

* "The purport of them was, that the senate should as[illegible] lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their [illegible]ship; that all his decrees from Cæsar's books [illegible] should be confirmed; that no account should be [illegible]ed of the money taken from the temple of Opis, [illegible] terms, he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, [illegible] he might have the greater Gaul in exchange [illegible] with an army of six legions, to be completed [illegible] of Decimus Brutus." Life of Cic. ii.

assistance; and I am become extremely popular in a way wherein popularity is seldom acquired: I mean, by supporting a good cause.

I am altogether ignorant in what part of the world you are at present, as well as of what schemes you are either executing or meditating. A rumour prevails that you are gone into Syria; but for this we have no certain authority. We can a little more depend upon the accounts we receive of Brutus, as he is at a distance from us less remote.*

It has been remarked here by men of some pleasantry, and much indignation against Dolabella, that he has shewn himself in too great haste to be your successor, as he is most unlikely [illegible] will set out to take possession of your province [illegible] when you have enjoyed it scarce [illegible] months. The case is clear, therefore, say they, that Cassius should by no means give him admittance. But to be serious, both you and Brutus are mentioned with the highest applause, as it is generally supposed that each of you has

des-

* Marcus Brutus, when he found it necessary to quit Italy, was gone into Macedonia, where he was at [illegible] employed in raising forces in support of the republican [illegible]

† The province of Syria had been intended [illegible] Cassius; but Mark Antony, after the death [illegible] unfairly procured it to be allotted to Dolabella [illegible] ingly the latter left Rome a short time before [illegible] of his consulship the last year, in order [illegible] with Cassius, in getting possession of [illegible] it is in allusion to this circumstance, that [illegible] present passage, such as [illegible] contains.

drawn together an army far beyond our expectations. I would add more, if I knew with certainty the situation of yourself and your affairs; but I hazard this letter merely upon the doubtful credit of common fame. It is with great impatience, therefore, that I wait for better intelligence from you own hand. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 710.]

To Trebonius[5].

Would to heaven you had invited me to that noble feast which you made on the ides of March; no remnants, most assuredly, should have been left behind[6]. Whereas the part you unluckily spared gives us so much perplexity, that we find something to regret, even in the godlike service which you and your illustrious associates have lately rendered to the republic. To say the truth, when I reflect that it is owing to the favour of so worthy a man as yourself, that Antony now lives to be our general bane, I am sometimes inclined to be a little angry with you for

[5] He was, at this time, in Asia Minor, of which province he was governor. See rem. 8. p. 99. of this vol.

[6] See rem. 9. on the preceding letter.

for taking him aside when Cæsar fell[7]; as by this mean you have occasioned more trouble to myself in particular, than to all the rest of the whole community. From the very first moment, indeed, that Antony's ignominious departure from Rome[8], had left the senate uncontrolled in its deliberations, I resumed the spirit which you and that inflexible patriot, your father, were wont to esteem and applaud. Accordingly, the tribunes of the people having summoned the senate to meet on the 20th of December, upon other matters, I seized that opportunity of taking the whole state of the republic into consideration[9]: and more by the zeal than the eloquence of my speech, I revived

[7] As it had been resolved, in a council of the conspirators, that Antony's life should be spared, they did not choose he should be present when they executed their design upon Cæsar: probably lest he should attempt to assist his friend, and by that means occasion them to spill more blood than they intended. For this reason, Trebonius held Antony in discourse, at the entrance into the senate, till the rest of the conspirators had finished their work. *Dio. p. 249. Plut. in vit. Brut.*

[8] Upon the news that two of the four legions from Brundisium [see rem. 4. p. 152. of this vol.] had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves in the neighbourhood of Rome, Antony left the city with great precipitation; and, putting himself at the head of his army, marched directly, in order to wrest Cisalpine Gaul out of the hands of Decimus Brutus. Cicero, who was at this time in the country, took the opportunity of Antony's absence to return to Rome; where he arrived on the 9th of December, in the preceding year, about a month or two, 'tis probable, before he wrote the present letter. *See Life of Cic.* iii. 97.

[9] It was upon this occasion that Cicero spoke his third Philippic.

vived the drooping spirits of that oppressed assembly, and awakened in them all their former vigour. It was owing to the ardour with which I thus contended in the debates of this day, that the people of Rome first conceived a hope of recovering their liberties: and to this great point all my thoughts and all my actions have ever since been perpetually directed. Thus important, however, as my occupations are, I would enter into a full detail of our proceedings, if I did not imagine that public transactions of every kind are transmitted to you by other hands. From them, therefore, you will receive a more particular information; whilst I content myself with giving you a short and general sketch of our present circumstances and situation. I must inform you, then, we have a senate that acts with spirit; but that as to those of consular dignity, part of them want the courage to exert themselves in the manner they ought, and the rest are ill-affected to the republic. The death of Servius[1] is a great loss to us. Lucius Cæsar[2], though he is altogether in

[1] Servius Sulpicius, to whom several letters, in the foregoing part of this collection, are addressed. He was one, and the most considerable, of the three consulars whom the senate had lately deputed to Antony; but, very unfortunately for that embassy, he died just as he arrived in Antony's camp. *Phil.* ix. 1.

[2] See rem. 5. p. 94. of this vol.

in the interest of liberty, yet in tenderness to his nephew[3], does not concur in any very vigorous measure. The consuls[4], in the mean time, deserve the highest commendations: I must mention Decimus Brutus, likewise, with much applause. The conduct of young Cæsar also is equally laudable: and I persuade myself that we have reason to hope he will complete the work he has begun. This, at least, is certain, that if he had not been so extremely expeditious in raising the veteran forces[a], and if two legions had not deserted to him from Antony's army, there is nothing so cruel or so flagitious which the latter would not have committed. But as these are articles which I suppose you are already apprised of, I only just mention them in order to confirm them.

You shall hear farther from me, whenever I can find a more leisure moment. Farewel.

LETTER

[3] Antony.
[4] Hirtius and Pansa.
[a] See rem. 7. p. 162. of this vol.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To Caius Cassius.

It is owing, I imagine, to the difficulty of forwarding any dispatches during the winter season, that we have yet received no certain intelligence of what you are doing, nor even know in what part of the world you are placed. It is universally reported, however, (though more, I believe, from what people wish, than from what they have sufficient grounds to assert) that you have raised an army, and are actually in Syria; a report which the more easily gains credit, as it appears to be extremely probable.

Our friend Brutus has acquired great honour by his late glorious and unexpected achievements[5]; not only as being in themselves extremely desirable to the friends of liberty, but from the wonderful expedition, likewise, with which he performed them. If it be true, therefore, that you are in possession of those provinces we imagine, the republic is very powerfully

[5] He had lately sent an account to the senate of his success against Caius, the brother of Mark Antony; having forced him to retire, with a few cohorts, to Apollonia, and secured Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, together with the several armies in those countries, to the interest of the republic. *Vid. Philip.* x.

fully supported; as that whole tract of country, which extends from the nearest coast of Greece as far as Egypt, is, upon this supposition, in the hands of two the most faithful friends of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, if my judgment does not deceive me, the event of this war depends entirely upon Decimus Brutus: for if he should be able to force his way out of Mutina, (as we have reason to hope) it will, in all probability, be totally at an end.--- There are now, indeed, but few troops employed in carrying on that siege; as Antony has sent a large detachment to keep possession of Bononia[6]. In the mean while, our friend Hirtius is posted at Claterna[7], and Cæsar at Forum Cornelii[8], each of them at the head of a very considerable army; at the same time that Pansa is raising at Rome a large body of Italian troops. But the season of the year has hitherto prevented their entering upon action; and, indeed, Hirtius appears, by the several letters I have received from him, to be determined to take all his measures with the utmost precaution.

Both the Gauls, excepting only the cities of Bononia, Regium, and Parma, are zealously affected to the republic; as are also your clients

on

[6] Bologna.
[7] Quaderna.
[8] Imola.

on the other side the Po. The senate likewise is firm in the cause of liberty; but when I say the senate, I must exclude all of consular rank, except Lucius Cæsar, who, indeed, is faithfully attached to the interest of the commonwealth. The death of Servius Sulpicius has deprived us of a very powerful associate. As for the rest of the consulars, part of them are ill affected to the republic, others want spirit to support its cause, and some there are who look with envy on those patriot citizens whose conduct they see distinguished by the public applause. The populace, however, both in Rome, and throughout all Italy, are wonderfully unanimous in the common cause.---I have nothing farther, I think, to add, but my wishes that your heroic virtues may shine out upon us from yon eastern regions, in all their enlivening warmth and lustre. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

To Lucius Papirius Pætus[7].

I have received a second letter from you, concerning your friend Rufus: and since you interest yourself thus warmly in his behalf, you might depend upon my utmost assistance, even if

[7] See rem. 1. p. 15. vol. ii.

if he had done me an injury. But I am perfectly sensible, from those letters of his, which you communicated to me, as well as from your own, how much my welfare has been his concern. I cannot, therefore, refuse him my friendly offices, not only in regard to your recommendation, which has all the weight with me it ought, but in compliance also with my own inclinations. I must acknowledge that it was his and your letters, my dear Pætus, which first put me upon my guard against the designs that were formed to destroy me[8]. I afterwards, indeed, received intelligence from several other hands to the same effect, and particularly of the consultations that were held concerning me both at Aquinium and Fabrateria[9]; of which meetings, I find, you were likewise apprised. One would imagine that this party had foreseen how much I should embarrass their schemes, by the industry they employed in order to compass my destruction: and, as I had not the least suspicion of their purposes,

[8] This probably alludes to some design of the veteran soldiers against Cicero's life; as it appears, from a letter to Atticus, written soon after Cæsar's death, that our author had been cautioned not to trust himself in Rome, on account of the danger to which he would be exposed, from the insolence of those troops. *Vid. Ad Att.* xv. 5.

[9] These towns were situated in Latium, or what is now called the Campagna di Roma. They still subsist under the names of *Aquino* and *Fabratera*.

purposes, I might incautiously have fallen into their snares, if it had not been for the admonitions you sent me, in consequence of the information you had received from Rufus. Your friend, therefore, wants no advocate with me for my good offices; and I wish the republic may be in so happy a situation, as to afford me an opportunity of giving him the most substantial proofs of my gratitude.

But, to dismiss this subject, I am sorry you no longer frequent the festive tables of your friends; as you cannot renounce these parties of good cheer, without depriving yourself of a very exquisite gratification. And, to tell you the truth, I am sorry, likewise, upon another account; as I am afraid you will lose the little knowledge you had acquired in the art of cookery, and be absolutely at a loss how to set forth a tolerable supper. For as you made no very considerable improvements in this fashionable science, even when you had many curious models for your imitation, what strange awkward things must your entertainments prove now that you enjoy no longer the same advantages? When I informed Spurinna[1] of this wonderful revolution in the system of your affairs, he shook his prophetic head, and declared that

[1] A celebrated diviner, who is said to have forewarned Cæsar of the ides of March. *Suet. in Jul.* 81.

that it portended some terrible disaster to the commonwealth; unless, said he, this extraordinary phænomenon be occasioned by the present cold weather, and your friend should return with the zephyrs to his accustomed train of life. But, without a joke, my dear Pætus, I would advise you to spend your time in the cheerful society of a set of worthy and agreeable friends; as there is nothing, in my estimation, that more effectually contributes to the happiness of human life. When I say this, I do not mean with respect to the sensual gratifications of the palate, but with regard to that pleasing relaxation of the mind which is best produced by the freedom of social converse, and which is always most agreeable at the hour of meals. For this reason, the Latin language is much happier, I think, than the Greek, in the term it employs to express assemblies of this sort. In the latter they are called by a word which signifies *compotations*; whereas, in ours, they are more emphatically styled *convivial* meetings; intimating that it is in a communication of this nature that life is most truly enjoyed. You see I am endeavouring to bring philosophy to my assistance, in recalling you to the tables of your friends; and, indeed, I prescribe them as the best recipe for the re-establishment of your health.

Do

Do not imagine, my friend, from my writing in this strain of pleasantry, that I have renounced my cares for the republic. Be assured, on the contrary, that it is the sole and unintermitted business of my life to secure to my fellow-citizens the full possession of their liberties, to which end my admonitions, my labours, and the utmost powers of my mind, are, upon all occasions, unweariedly employed. In a word, it is my firm persuasion, that, if I should die a martyr to these patriot endeavours, I shall finish my days in the most glorious manner. Again and again I bid you farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

CAIUS CASSIUS, Proconsul, to CICERO.

I AM to inform you of my arrival in Syria, where I have joined the generals Lucius Murcus and Quintus Crispus[9]. These brave and worthy citizens, having been made acquainted with what has lately passed in Rome, immediately resigned their armies to my command, and with great zeal and spirit co-operate with me in the service of the republic. Aulus Allienus

[9] "They had been prætors, A. U. 708. Cæsar sent the "former into Syria, and the latter into Bithynia, with pro-"consular authority." *Dio.* xlvii. *Appian.* iii. Mr. *Ross.*

nus has delivered to me the four legions which he brought from Egypt[3]: the legion which was commanded by Cæcilius Bassus[4] has likewise joined me. And now it is unnecessary, I am persuaded, that I should exhort you to defend the interest both of myself and of the commonwealth, to the utmost of your abilities: but it may animate your zeal and your hopes, to be assured that a powerful army is not wanting to support the senate and its friends in the cause of liberty. For the rest, I refer you to Lucius Carteius, whom I have directed to confer with you upon my affairs. Farewel.

From my camp at Tarichea[5], March the 7th.

LETTER

[3] "Allienus was lieutenant to Dolabella, by whom he "was sent into Egypt, in order to conduct those legions into "Syria. He accordingly executed his commission; but, "instead of delivering these troops to Dolabella, he went "over with them to Cassius." *Quartier.*

[4] See rem. 7. p. 65. of this vol.

[5] Situated upon the lake of Genesaret, in Galilee.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 710.]

Asinius Pollio[6], to Cicero.

You must not wonder that you have heard nothing from me, in relation to public affairs, since the breaking out of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to pass unmolested through the forest of Castulo[7]; but it is now more than ever infested with robbers. These banditti, however, are by no means the principal obstruction to our intercourse with Rome, as the mails are perpetually searched and detained

[6] Asinius Pollio was, in every respect, one of the most accomplished persons among his contemporaries. His extensive genius was equal to all the nobler branches of polite literature, and he gave the most applauded proofs of his talents as a poet, an orator, and an historian. He united the most lively and pleasing vein of wit and pleasantry with all that strength and solidity of understanding which is necessary to render a man of weight in the more serious and important occasions of life; in allusion to which uncommon assemblage of qualities, it was said of him, that he was a man *omnium horarum*. It is to be regretted that a character so truly brilliant on the intellectual side, should shine with less lustre in a moral view. 'Tis evident, however, from the present epistle, that, in taking part with Cæsar, against Pompey, private considerations were of more force with him than public utility, and determined him to support a cause which his heart condemned. This letter was written from the farther Spain, of which province Cæsar, a short time before his death, had appointed Pollio governor.

[7] A city anciently of great note: at present it is only a small village, called *Cazorla*, in the province of New Castile, in Spain.

detained by the soldiers that are posted for that purpose, by both parties, in every quarter of the country. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ship which lately arrived in this river[8], I should have been utterly ignorant of what has been transacted in your part of the world. But now that a communication by sea is thus opened between us, I shall frequently, and with great pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with you.

Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced by the persuasions of the person you mention[9]. As much as the world abhors him, he is far from being detested to that degree which I know he deserves: and I have so strong an aversion to the man, that I would upon no consideration bear a part in any measures wherein he is concerned[1]. Inclined both by my temper and my studies to be the friend of tranquillity and freedom, I frequently and bitterly lamented our late unhappy civil wars. But as the formidable

[8] The Quadalquiver, upon which the city of Corduba, from whence this letter is dated, was situated.

[9] Antony, as Manutius conjectures, though som eof the commentators, with greater probability, suppose that he means Lepidus. *Vid. Epist. Famil.* x. 11. & 15.

[1] Nothing could be more insincere, it should seem, than these professions, as it is probable that Pollio was at this time determined to join Antony. It is certain, at least, that he did so soon afterwards, and carried with him the troops under his command. *Patercul.* ii. 63.

midable enemies which I had among both parties, rendered it, altogether, unsafe for me to remain neuter; so I would not take up arms on that side where I knew I should be perpetually exposed to the insidious arts of my capital adversary[2]. But though my inclinations were not with the party I joined, my spirit, however, would not suffer me to stand undistinguished among them: in consequence of which, I was forward to engage in all the dangers of the cause I had espoused. With respect to Cæsar himself, I will confess that I loved him with the highest and most inviolable affection: and, indeed, I had reason. For, notwithstanding his acquaintance with me commenced so late as when he was in the height of his power; yet he admitted me into the same share of his friendship, as if I had been in the number of those with whom he had lived in the longest intimacy. Nevertheless, as often as I was at liberty to follow my own sentiments, I endeavoured that my conduct should be such as every honest man must approve: and whenever I was obliged to execute the orders I received, it was in a manner that evidently discovered how much

[2] The person hinted at, is, perhaps, Cato: as Pollio had early distinguished his enmity towards that most illustrious of Romans, by a public impeachment. *Vid. Dial. de Caus. Corrupt. Eloquent.* 34.

much my actions were at variance with my heart. The unjust odium, however, that I incurred by these unavoidable compliances, might well teach me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition it is to live under the government of a despotic power. If any attempts, therefore, are carrying on to reduce us a second time under the dominion of a single person, whoever that single person may be, I declare myself his irreconcileable enemy. The truth is, there is no danger so great that I would not cheerfully hazard for the support of our common liberties. But the consuls have not thought proper to signify to me, either by any decree of the senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I should act in the present conjuncture. I have received, indeed, only one letter from Pansa since the ides of March: by which he advised me to assure the senate, that I was ready to employ the forces under my command in any service they should require. But this would have been a very imprudent declaration at a time when Lepidus had professed, in his public speeches, as well as in the letters he wrote to all his friends, that he concurred in Antony's measures. For could I possibly, without the consent of the former, find means to subsist my army in their march through his provinces?

vinces? But granting that I could have surmounted this difficulty, I must have conquered another and a still greater: as nothing less than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable for me to have crossed the Alps, whilst every pass was guarded by the troops of Lepidus. Add to this, that I could by no means convey any dispatches to Rome: as the couriers were not only exposed in a thousand different places to the danger of being plundered, but were detained, likewise, by the express orders of Lepidus[3]. It is well known, however, that I publicly declared at Corduba, that it was my resolution not to resign this province into any other hands than those which the senate should appoint: not to mention how strenuously I withstood all the applications that were made to me for parting with the thirtieth legion. I could not, indeed, have given it up, without depriving myself of a very considerable strength for the defence of the republic: as there are no troops in the whole world that are animated with a braver or more martial spirit than those of which this legion is composed. Upon the whole, I hope you will do me the justice to believe, in the first place, that I am extremely desirous of preserving the public tranquillity; as there is nothing I more sincerely

[3] Lepidus was governor of that part of Spain which lay nearest to Italy. See rem. a. on letter 14. of this book.

sincerely wish than the safety of all my fellow-citizens: and, in the next place, that I am determined to vindicate my own and my country's rights.

It gives me greater satisfaction than you can well imagine, that you admit my friend into a share of your intimacy. Shall I own, nevertheless, that I cannot think of him as the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in the pleasantry of your conversation, without feeling some emotions of envy! This is a privilege, believe me, which I infinitely value: as you shall most assuredly experience, by my devoting the whole of my time to your company, if ever we should live to see peace restored to the republic.

I am much surprised that you did not mention, in your letter, whether it would be most satisfactory to the senate that I should remain in this province, or march into Italy. If I were to consider only my own ease and safety, I should certainly continue here: but as, in the present conjuncture, the republic has more occasion for legions than for provinces, (especially as the loss of the latter may, with great ease, be recovered) I have determined to move towards Italy with my troops. For the rest, I refer you to the letter I have written to Pansa: a copy of which I herewith transmit to you. Farewel,

Corduba, March the 16th.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 710.]

To Caius Cassius.

You will receive a full account of the present situation of affairs from Tidius Strabo, a person of great merit, and extremely well-affected to the republic. Need I add how strong his attachment, likewise, is to yourself, when it thus evidently appears by his leaving his family and his fortunes in order to follow you? For the same reason, I forbear to solicit your good offices in his behalf, as I am persuaded you will think his coming to you a sufficient recommendation to your favour.

If any misfortune should attend our arms, be assured that the friends of the republic have no other resource left than in you and Marcus Brutus. We are, at this juncture, indeed, in the most imminent danger: as it is with great difficulty that Decimus Brutus still holds out at Mutina. However, if he should be speedily relieved, we may look upon victory as our own; if not, let me repeat it again, every friend of liberty will fly for refuge to Brutus and to you. May you stand ready, then, with all that spirit which is necessary for the full and complete deliverance of our distressed country! Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

THE account that Furnius gave us of your disposition towards the republic, afforded the highest satisfaction both to the senate and the people. But your letter, which was afterwards read in the senate, seemed by no means to comport with those sentiments our friend had thus represented you as entertaining. At the very time, indeed, when your illustrious colleague is sustaining a siege from the lawless crew of the most worthless villains, you do not scruple to advise us to peace. But if peace is their sincere desire, let them immediately lay down their arms, and sue for it in a proper manner, otherwise they must expect to obtain it, not by treaty, be assured, but by the sword alone. But I leave it to Furnius and your worthy brother, to acquaint you with the reception which your letter upon this subject, as well as that of Lepidus, met with from the senate. Meanwhile, notwithstanding you are well qualified to be your own adviser, and that it will soon be in your power, likewise, to have recourse to the faithful and friendly counsels of Furnius and your brother; yet, in compliance with that af-

fection

fection to which you have so many powerful claims, I cannot forbear sending you a few admonitions. Believe me, then, my dear Plancus, whatever honours you have hitherto acquired, (and you have acquired, in truth, the highest) they will be considered as so many vain and empty titles, unless you dignify them by joining in the defence both of the liberties of the people and the authority of the senate. Let me conjure you, therefore, to separate yourself from those associates with whom you have hitherto been united, not by choice, indeed, but by the general attraction of a prevailing party. It has been the fortune of many, as it will probably be yours, to exercise the supreme magistracy during times of public commotions; but not one of this number ever derived to himself that esteem and veneration which naturally flows from the consular dignity, who had not distinguished his administration by an active and zealous regard for the interests of the commonwealth. To this end, it is necessary, that you renounce the society of those impious citizens, whose principles are far different from your own; that you shew yourself the friend, the guide, and the protector of all those who are faithfully attached to our constitution; and, in fine, that you be well persuaded that the

the re-establishment of the public tranquillity consists, not merely in laying down our arms, but in being secure from all reasonable apprehension of their ever being resumed to enslave us again. Thus to think and thus to act, will render your character, both as a consul and a consular, most truly illustrious; but if you should steer yourself by other maxims and by other measures, you will possess those exalted distinctions, not only without honour, but with the utmost disgrace.

And now, if I have expressed my sentiments with somewhat more than ordinary seriousness, impute it to the zeal of my affection towards you; assuring yourself, at the same time, that you will, undoubtedly, find my advice is founded on truth, if you make the experiment in a manner worthy of your character. Farewel.

March the 20th.

LETTER

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 710.]

To Lepidus[a].

The singular regard I bear you, renders it greatly my concern that you should be distinguished with the highest dignities of the republic. I cannot, therefore, but regret, that you

[a] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was descended from one of the noblest and most ancient families in Rome: and he was himself distinguished with some of the most honourable posts in the republic. He stood high in the confidence and friendship of Julius Cæsar: who, when he was dictator, named him for the master of the horse; when he was consul, in the year 707, declared him his colleague; and who, a short time before his death, appointed him governor of the nearer Spain. One of the most elegant of the Roman historians has represented Lepidus as void of all military virtues, and in every view of his character as altogether unworthy of that high station to which fortune had exalted him. Accordingly he is described by Shakespear, in the tragedy of Julius Cæsar, as,

——a slight unmeritable man,
Meet to be sent on errands.

But though the poet has been strictly true to history, it may be questioned, perhaps, whether the historian has been equally faithful to truth. For when one considers the great trust which Cæsar reposed in Lepidus; his address in prevailing with young Pompey, who had made himself master almost of all Spain, to renounce his conquests; together with the share he had in forming that celebrated league between Antony, Octavius, and himself, which gave him a third part in the division of the whole Roman dominions; is it credible that his talents were destitute of lustre? History, perhaps, may be more reasonably relied upon in what it has delivered concerning his moral character: and it is probable that Lepidus was strongly infected with avarice, ambition, and vanity. This at least is certain, that he acted towards the senate in the present conjuncture, with great dissimulation and treachery. At the time when this letter was written, he was at the head of

you omitted to pay your acknowledgments to the senate for those extraordinary honours they lately conferred upon you[b].

I am glad you are desirous of composing those unhappy dissentions that destroy the tranquillity of our country: and if you can effect this good work, consistently with the enjoyment of our liberties, it will be greatly to your own credit, as well as to the advantage of the commonwealth. But if the peace you propose, is to re-establish a most oppressive tyranny, be well assured there is not a man in his senses who will not rather renounce his life than thus suffer himself to be made a slave. I should think, therefore, that your wisest way would be to avoid engaging as the mediator of a peace which is neither approved by the senate, or the people, nor indeed by any lover of his country in the whole republic. But as this is a truth which you will undoubtedly learn from others, I will only add, that I hope you will consider, with your usual prudence, in what manner it will be best and most adviseable for you to act. Farewel.

LETTER

of a very considerable army in the Narbonensian Gaul, which Cæsar had annexed to the province of Spain, in favour of Lepidus. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 451. *Vel. Patercul.* ii. 63. 80. *Dio.* xlv. 275.

[b] The senate had lately decreed, that the statue of Lepidus should be erected in the forum with an inscription, in honour of the services he had performed to his country, by prevailing with young Pompey to lay down his arms. *Philip.* xvi. 4.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 710.]

To Caius Cassius.

I will not tell you with how much zeal I lately stood forth, both in the senate and before the people, an advocate for the advancement of your honours[4]; as it is a circumstance which I had rather you should learn from the letters of your family, than from my own hand. I should easily have carried my point in the former, if I had not met with a strenuous opposition from Pansa. Nevertheless, after having enforced my sentiments in the senate, I made a speech, to the same purpose, in an assembly of the people: to which I was introduced by Marcus Servilius, the tribune. I urged, upon this occasion, (and with a warmth and vehemence suitable to a popular audience) all that I most justly might in your favour: and my speech was received with a louder and more universal applause than ever was known before

[4] Dolabella having entered into Asia Minor, and committed great outrages and hostilities in that province, was declared, by a general vote of the senate, a public enemy: in consequence of which a debate arose concerning the person to whom the war to be carried on against Dolabella should be entrusted. Cicero moved that a commission should be granted to Cassius for that purpose, with the most honourable and extensive powers. But his motion was over-ruled by the superior interest of Pansa, who seems to have been secretly desirous of obtaining this command for himself. *Vid. Philip.* xi.

before. I hope you will pardon me that I took these steps contrary to the persuasions of your mother-in-law: who was apprehensive they might give offence to Pansa. He did not, indeed, forget to avail himself of these fears: and he assured the people, that even your own family were averse to my making this motion. I was by no means, I confess, governed by their sentiments in the case: as I acted entirely with a view to an interest which I have always endeavoured to promote; the interest I mean of the republic in general, as well as with a regard to the advancement of your glory in particular.

There is one article upon which I very largely expatiated in the senate, as I afterwards repeated it likewise in my speech to the people: and I hope your conduct will fully justify what I then said. I undertook to assure the public, that you would not wait for the sanction of our decrees; but, agreeably to your usual spirit, would, upon your own single authority, take such measures as should appear expedient to you for the defence of the commonwealth. I went even farther, and almost ventured to affirm, that you had already acted in this manner. The truth of it is, although I was not at that time certainly informed either in what part of the world you were, or what number of troops you were furnished with; yet I was confident, I said,

every legion in Asia[5] had submitted to your command, and that you had recovered that province to the republic. I have only to add my wishes, that in every enterprise you shall undertake, you may still rise above yourself with superior glory. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 710.]

Plancus to Cicero.

I should employ this letter in giving you a full explanation of my measures, if I had no other method of convincing you, that I have in every respect conducted myself towards the republic agreeably to my own promises, and to your persuasions. I have ever been ambitious, indeed, of obtaining your esteem, as well as your friendship: and if I have wished to secure you for my advocate where I have acted wrong, I have been no less desirous of giving you occasion to applaud me for acting right. But I was going to say, that I shorten this letter for two reasons; the first is, because I have entered into an ample detail of every thing in my public manifesto[6]; and the next, because you

[5] Asia Minor.
[6] See the next letter.

you will receive a circumstantial account of all that relates to me from Marcus Varisidius, a Roman knight, and my particular friend, whom I have directed to wait upon you. In the mean time, let me protest, that it was not without much concern that I saw others anticipate me in the good opinion of the republic: but I forbore to declare myself, till I should be in a condition to effect something worthy of those expectations the senate has conceived of me, and of that high office[7] I shall shortly bear. And should fortune second my endeavours, I hope to render such considerable services to the republic, that not only the present age shall feel the advantage of my assistance, but that it shall be remembered, likewise, in times to come. Meanwhile, that I may pursue these endeavours with the greater alacrity, let me entreat your suffrage in procuring me those honours which your letter sets before my view as incitements of my patriotism; and your interest for this purpose is equal, I well know, to your inclination. Take care of your health, and give me your friendship in the same degree that I sincerely give you mine.

LETTER

[7] The consulate, upon which Plancus was to enter the following year.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS, Consul elect, to the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes, the Senate, and the Commons of Rome.

BEFORE I make any professions with respect to my future conduct, I deem it necessary to justify myself to those who may think that I have held the republic too long in suspense concerning my designs[s]. For I would by no means have it imagined that I am atoning for my past behaviour, when, in fact, I am only seizing the first favourable opportunity of publicly declaring a resolution, which I have long formed. I was in no sort ignorant, however, that, at a time of such general and alarming confusions, a less deliberate discovery of my intentions would have proved most to my own private advantage: as I was sensible that several of my fellow-citizens had been distinguished with great honours, by a more hasty explication of their purposes. But as fortune had placed me in such a situation, that I could not be earlier in testifying mine without prejudicing that cause which I could better serve by concealing them; I was willing to suffer for a season in the good opinion of the world: as I preferred

[s] See rem. 2. p. 134. of this vol.

prefered the interest of the public to that of my own reputation. That this was the genuine motive of my proceedings, cannot reasonably, I trust, be questioned. For can it be supposed that a man, in my prosperous circumstances, and of my well-known course of life, whose utmost hopes too were upon the very point of being crowned[9], could be capable either of meanly submitting to the destructive ambition of another, or impiously cherishing any dangerous schemes of his own? But it required some time, as well as much pains and expence, to render myself able to perform those assurances I purposed to give to the republic, and to every friend of her cause; that I might not approach with mere empty professions to the assistance of my country, but with the power of performing an effectual service. To this end, as the army under my command had been strongly and frequently solicited to revolt, it was necessary to persuade them that a moderate reward, conferred by the general voice of the commonwealth, was far preferable to an infinitely greater from any single hand. My next labour was to convince those many cities which had been gained the last

[9] Alluding to his being to enter the next year on the consular office.

last year by largesses and other donations, that these were obligations of no validity, and that they should endeavour to obtain the same benefactions from a better and more honourable quarter. I had still the farther task to prevail with those who commanded in the neighbouring provinces, to join with the more numerous party in a general association for the defence of our common liberties, rather than unite with the smaller number, in hopes of dividing the spoils of a victory that must prove fatal to the whole world. Add to this, that I was obliged to augment my own troops and those of my auxiliaries, that I might have nothing to fear whenever I should think proper, contrary to the inclination of some about me, openly to avow the cause which it was my resolution to defend. Now, I shall never be ashamed to acknowledge, that, in order to bring these several schemes to bear, I submitted, though very unwillingly, indeed, to the mortification of dissembling the intentions I really had, and of counterfeiting those which I certainly had not: as the fate of my colleague[1] had taught me how dangerous it is

[1] Decimus Brutus. To what particular circumstance of his conduct Plancus alludes, the history of these times does not discover. Perhaps, he may only mean, in general, that Decimus had imprudently drawn upon himself the siege of Modena, before he had made the proper dispositions against an attack.

is for a man who means well to his country, to divulge his resolutions ere he is sufficiently prepared to carry them into execution. For this reason it was that I directed my brave and worthy lieutenant, Caius Furnius, to represent to you, more fully than I thought prudent to explain in my dispatches, those measures which seemed necessary for the preservation both of this province and of the republic in general, as being the more concealed method of conveying my sentiments to you upon that subject, as well as the safer with respect to myself.

It appears, then, that I have long been secretly attentive to the defence of the commonwealth. But now that, by the bounty of the gods, I am in every respect better prepared for that purpose, I desire to give the world, not only reason to hope well of my intentions, but clear and undoubted proofs of their sincerity.

I have five legions in readiness to march; all of them zealously attached to the republic, and disposed, by my liberalities, to pay an entire obedience to my orders. The same disposition appears in every city throughout this province: and they earnestly vie with each other, in giving me the strongest marks of their duty. Accordingly, they have furnished me with as considerable a body of auxiliary forces, both horse and

and foot, as they could possibly have raised for the support of their own national liberties. As for myself, I am ready either to remain here, in order to protect this province, or to march wheresoever else the republic shall demand my services. I will offer, yet, another alternative; and either resign my troops and government into any hands that shall be appointed, or draw upon myself the whole weight of the war; if, by these means, I may be able to establish the tranquillity of my country, or even retard those calamities with which it is threatened.

If, at the time that I am making these declarations, our public disturbances should happily be composed, I shall rejoice in an event so advantageous to the commonwealth, notwithstanding the honour I shall lose by being too late in the tender of my services[z]. But, on the contrary, if I am early enough in my offers to bear a full part in all the dangers of the war, let me recommend it to every man of justice and candour to vindicate me against the malevolence of those, whom envy may prompt to asperse my character.

In

[z] This passage sufficiently discovers the true motive of Plancus's present declarations: as they appear evidently to have flowed from some reason he had to believe, that the contest between Antony and the senate was likely to be adjusted in an amicable manner.

In my own particular, I desire no greater reward for my services, than the satisfaction of having contributed to the security of the republic. But I think myself bound to recommend those brave and worthy men to your especial favour, who, partly in compliance with my persuasions, put much more in confidence of your good faith, would not suffer themselves to be prevailed upon by all the applications that have been made both to their hopes and their fears, to depart from their duty to the commonwealth.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To Plancus.

Although I had received a very full account from our friend Furnius of your disposition with regard to the republic, and of the measures you were meditating in its defence, yet, the perusal of your letter[3] afforded me a still clearer view into the whole plan of your patriot purposes. Notwithstanding, then, that you should not have an opportunity of executing your projected services, as the fate of the commonwealth, which depends upon a single battle,

[3] The foregoing letter to the senate.

tle, will, probably, be decided ere this reaches your hands; yet you have acquired, nevertheless, great and universal applause from what the world has been informed of your general good intentions. Accordingly, had either of the consuls been in Rome[4] when your dispatches arrived, the senate would have declared, and in terms, I am persuaded, extremely to your advantage, the sense it entertains of your zealous and acceptable preparations in their cause. The proper season, however, for your being rewarded with honours of this kind, is, in my opinion, at least, so far from being elapsed, that, on the contrary, it seems to be scarce fully arrived: as those distinctions, alone, appear to me to deserve the name of honours that are conferred by our country, not in expectation of services to come, but in just retribution to those that have effectually been performed. Believe me, if any form of government shall subsist amongst us where merit can hope to be distinguished, you will shine out with all the most illustrious dignities it can bestow. But nothing of this kind (let me repeat it again) can justly be called an honour, but what is given,

[4] "The two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, were both in "Gaul, and waiting to attempt a decisive battle with Antony, in order to deliver Decimus Brutus from the danger he "was in at Modena." Mr. *Ross*.

given, not as the incentive of an occasional service, but as the recompence of a constant and uniform course of patriotism. Be it then your earnest endeavour, my dear Plancus, to acquire these well-merited rewards, by advancing to the relief of your colleague[5]; by improving that wonderful unanimity which appears in every province for the support of the common cause; and by giving all possible succour to your country in general. Be persuaded that I shall always be ready to assist your schemes with my best advice, and to promote your honours with my utmost interest: in a word, that I shall act, upon every occasion, wherein you are concerned, as one who is most sincerely and most warmly your friend. I am so, indeed, not only from that intercourse of affectionate good offices by which we have been long mutually united, but from the love I bear likewise to my country; in tenderness to which I am more anxious for your life than for my own. Farewel.

March the 30th.

LETTER

[5] Decimus Brutus.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 710.]

To Cornificius.

I agree with you in thinking that those who were concerned in the design upon Lilybæum[6], deserved to have been executed upon the spot. But you spared them, it seems, in the apprehension that the world would condemn you as too freely indulging a vindictive spirit: yet, as well might you have been apprehensive, my friend, that the world would condemn you for acting too agreeably to your patriot character.

I very gladly embrace your overtures of renewing that association with you, for the defence of the republic, in which I was formerly engaged with your father: and I am persuaded, it is an association, my dear Cornificius, in which we shall ever be united. It is with much pleasure, likewise, that I find you esteem it unnecessary to send me any ceremonious acknowledgments of my services: formalities, indeed, would ill agree with that intimacy which subsists between us.

If

[6] A city in Sicily, opposite to the coast of Lybia in Africa. The particulars of the affair alluded to, as well as the persons concerned in it, are unknown.

If the senate were ever holden in the absence of the consuls, unless upon some very sudden and extraordinary occasion, it would have been more frequently summoned in order to concert proper measures for the support of your authority. But as neither Hirtius nor Pansa are in Rome, no decree can at present be procured, in relation to the several sums of two millions[7], and of seventy millions[8] of sesterces which you mention. I think, however, that you are sufficently authorized to raise this money by way of loan, in virtue of that general decree of the senate by which you were confirmed in your government.

I imagine you are informed of the state of our affairs, by those to whom it properly belongs to send you the intelligence. As for myself, I conceive great hopes that things will take a favourable turn. I am not wanting, at least, in my utmost vigilance and efforts for that purpose: and I am resolutely waging war against every foe to the republic. The recovery of our liberties does not seem, indeed, even *now*, to be a matter of great difficulty: I am sure it would have been perfectly easy, if some persons had acted in the manner they ought. Farewel.

LETTER

[7] About 16,000l. of our money.
[8] About 560,000l.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 710.]

To Plancus.

It is principally for the sake of my country that I ought to rejoice in the very powerful succours with which you have strengthened the republic, at a juncture when it is well-nigh reduced to the last extremity. I protest, however, by all my hopes of congratulating you on the victorious deliverance of the commonwealth, that a considerable part of the joy which I feel upon this occasion, arises from the share I take in your glory. Great, indeed, is the reputation you have already acquired, and great, I am persuaded, will be the honours that will hereafter be conferred upon you: for assure yourself, nothing could make stronger impression upon the senate than your late letter* to that assembly. It did so, both with respect to those very important services which it brought us an account that you had performed, and with regard to that strength of sentiment and expression with which it was drawn up. It contained nothing, however, that was in the least unexpected to myself: as I was not only perfectly well acquainted with your heart, and had

* The letter here mentioned seems to have been a subsequent one to that which stands the 17th in the present book.

had not forgotten the promises you had given me in your letters, but as I had received from Furnius a full information of all your designs. These, indeed, appeared to the senate much beyond what they had allowed themselves to hope: not that they ever entertained the least doubt of your disposition, but because they were by no means sufficiently apprised either of what you were in a condition to effect, or whither you purposed to march. It was with infinite pleasure, therefore, that I read the letter which Marcus Varisidius delivered to me on your part. I received it on the 7th of this month, in the morning, amidst a large circle of very worthy citizens, who were attending in order to conduct me from my house: and I immediately gave them a share in my joy. Whilst we were mutually congratulating each other upon this happy occurrence, Munatius came to pay me his usual morning visit: to whom I likewise communicated your letter. It was the first notice he had received of an express being arrived from you: as Varisidius, in pursuance of your directions, did not deliver any of his dispatches till he had first waited upon me. A short time, however, after Munatius had left me, he returned with your letter to himself, together also with that which you wrote to the senate,

senate. We thought proper to carry the latter immediately to Cornutus: who, as prætor of the city, supplies the office of the consuls in their absence, agreeably, you know, to an ancient and established custom. The senate was instantly summoned: and the expectation that was raised by the general report of an express being arrived from you, brought together a very full assembly. As soon as your letter was read, it was objected that Cornutus had not taken the auspices in a proper manner: and this scruple was confirmed by the general sentiments of our college[9]. In consequence of this, the senate was adjourned to the following day: when I had a very warm contest with Servilius, who strenuously opposed the passing of any decree to your honour. For this purpose he had the interest to procure his own motion to be first proposed to the senate[1]: which being rejected, however, by a great majority, mine was next taken into consideration. But when the senate had unanimously agreed to it, Publius Titius[2], at the instigation of Servilius, interposed

[9] See rem. 3. p. 279. vol. I.

[1] The senate could not enter into any debate, unless the subject of it was proposed to them in form by some of the magistrates; who had the sole privilege of referring any question to a vote, or of dividing the house upon it. *Midlet. on the Rom. S. p.* 155.

[2] One of the tribunes. It has already been observed, that those magistrates had a power of putting a stop to the proceedings of the senate, by their single negative.

terposed his negative. The farther deliberation upon this affair was postponed, therefore, to the next day: when Servilius came prepared to support an opposition, which, in some sort, might be considered as injurious to the honour even of Jupiter himself; as it was in the Capitol[3] that the senate, upon this occasion, was assembled. I leave it to your other friends to inform you in what manner I mortified Servilius, and with how much warmth I exposed the contemptible interposition of Titius. But this I will myself assure you, that the senate could

[3] The Capitol was a temple dedicated to Jupiter, and the most considerable structure of the sacred kind in all Rome. The ruins of this celebrated edifice are still to be seen. None of the commentators have taken notice of the indirect compliment which Cicero here pays to Plancus: which seems, however, to deserve a particular explanation. The Capitol was held in singular veneration, as being built upon the spot which Jupiter was supposed to have chosen for the visible manifestation of his person. In consequence of this popular superstition, both Horace and Virgil often speak of the prosperity and duration of the Capitol, as a circumstance upon which the fortune of the whole empire depended:

———————— *Stet Capitolium*
Fulgens, triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare jura medis. HOR. Od. iii. 3. 42.

Dum domus Ænei Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit. Æn. ix. 448.

Cicero, therefore, by a very artful piece of flattery, insinuates, that the opposition Servilius made to the honours which the senate intended to have paid to Plancus, was, in effect, an affront to that supreme and guardian divinity in whose temple the transaction passed, as being contrary to the interest of a republic which was distinguished by Jupiter himself with his immediate presence. *Vid. Æn.* viii. 346.

could not possibly act with greater dignity and spirit, or shew a stronger disposition to advance your honours, than it discovered upon this occasion. Nor are you less in favour with the whole city in general: as, indeed, all orders and degrees of men amongst us remarkably concur in the same common zeal for the deliverance of the republic. Persevere then, my friend, in the glorious course upon which you have entered: and let nothing less than immortal fame be the object of your well-directed ambition. Despise the false splendour of all those empty honours that are short-lived, transitory, and perishable. True glory is founded upon virtue alone: which is never so illustriously distinguished as when it displays itself by important services to our country. You have at this time a most favourable opportunity for that purpose: which, as you have already embraced, let it not slip out of your hands till you shall have employed it to full advantage; lest it be said, that you are more obliged to the republic than the republic is obliged to you. As, for my own part, you will always find me ready to contribute to the advancement as well as to the support of your dignities: indeed, it is what I owe not only to our friendship, but to the commonwealth, which is far dearer to me than life itself.

Whilst

Whilst I was employing my best services for the promotion of your honours, I received great pleasure in observing the prudence and fidelity which Titus Munatius exerted for the same purpose. I had experienced those qualities in him upon other occasions: but the incredible diligence and affection with which he acted for your interest, in this affair, shewed them to me in a still stronger and more conspicuous point of view. Farewel.

April the 11th.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 710.]

To CORNIFICIUS.

MY friendship with Lucius Lamia is well known, I am persuaded, not only to yourself, who are acquainted with all the circumstances of my life, but to every Roman in general. It most conspicuously appeared, indeed, to the whole world, when he was banished by the consul Gabinius[4], for having, with so remarkable a spirit of freedom and fortitude, risen up in my defence[5]. Our friendship, however, did not commence from that period: it was from an affection of a much earlier date, that he was induced thus generously to expose himself to every

[4] See rem. 21. p. 174. vol. i.

[5] When Cicero was persecuted by Clodius.

every danger in my cause. To these his meritorious services, I must add, that there is no man whose company affords me a more true and exquisite entertainment. After what I have thus said, you will think it needless, surely, that I should use much rhetoric in recommending him to your favour. You see the just reason I have for giving him so large a share of my affection: whatever terms, therefore, the strongest friendship can require upon an occasion of this nature, let your imagination supply for me in the present. I will only assure you, that your good offices to the agents, the servants, and the family of Lamia, in every article wherein his affairs in your province shall require them, will be a more acceptable instance of your generosity than any you could confer in my own personal concerns. I am persuaded, indeed, from your great penetration into the characters of men, that without my recommendation you would be perfectly well-disposed to give him your best assistance. I must confess, at the same time, I have heard that you suspect him of having signed some decree of the senate injurious to your honour. But I must assure you, in the first place, that he never signed any during the administration of those consuls[6]; and,

[6] It is altogether uncertain to what consuls Cicero alludes: Manutius supposes, to Antony and Dolabella.

and, in the next, that almost all the decrees which were pretended to be passed at that time, were absolutely forged. The truth is, you might just as reasonably suppose I was concerned in that decree to which my name was subscribed, relating to Sempronius; though, in fact, I was then absent from Rome, and complained, I remember, of the injury that had been done me, in a letter which I wrote to you upon the occasion. But not to enter farther into this subject; I most earnestly entreat you, my dear Cornificius, to consider the interest of Lamia, in all respects, as mine, and to let him see that my recommendation has proved of singular advantage to his affairs; assuring yourself that you cannot, in any instance, more effectually oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 710.]

To the same.

Cornificius delivered your letter to me on the 17th of March, about three weeks, as he told me, after he had received it from your hands. The senate did not assemble either on that day or the next; however, on the 9th they met, when I defended your cause in a very full house, and with no unpropitious regards from Minerva[1]. I may with peculiar propriety say so, as the statue of that guardian goddess of Rome, which I formerly erected in the Capitol[2], and which had lately been thrown down by an high wind, was at the same time decreed to be replaced. Your letter, which Pansa read to the senate, was much approved, and afforded great satisfaction to the whole assembly. It fired them, at the same time, with general indignation against the impudent attempts

[1] It was a sort of proverbial expression among the Romans, when they spoke of any successful undertaking, to say that it was carried on "not without the approbation of Minerva."

[2] "Cicero, a little before his retreat into banishment, "took a small statue of Minerva, which had long been reverenced in his family as a kind of tutelar deity, and carrying it to the Capitol, placed it in the temple of Jupiter, "under the title of *Minerva, the guardian of the city.*" Life of Cic. i. 350.

tempts of the horrid *Minotaur*, for so I may well call those combined adversaries of yours, Calvisius and Taurus[3]. It was proposed, therefore, that the censure of the senate should pass upon them; but that motion was over-ruled by the more merciful Pansa. However, a decree was voted upon this occasion extremely to your honour.

As for my own good offices in your favour, be assured, my dear Cornificius, they have not been wanting from the first moment I conceived a hope of recovering our liberties. Accordingly, when I laid a foundation, for that purpose, on the 20th of December last[4], while the rest of those who ought to have been equally forward in that work, stood timidly hesitating in what manner to act, I had a particular view to the preserving you in your present post; and to this end I prevailed with the senate to agree to my motion concerning the continuance of the proconsuls in their respective provinces. But my zeal in your cause did not

[3] The Minotaur was a fabulous monster which the poets describe as half man half bull. Cicero, therefore, in allusion to the name of Taurus, who had joined with Calvisius in some combination against Cornificius, jocosely gives them the appellation of the Minotaur.

[4] When he spoke his third and fourth Philippic orations, wherein Cicero endeavoured, amongst other articles, to animate the senate and the people to vigorous measures against Antony.

not terminate here, and I still continued my attacks upon that person, who, in contempt of the senate, as well as most injuriously to you, had, even whilst he himself was absent from Rome, procured your government to be allotted to him. My frequent, or, to speak more properly, my incessant, remonstrances against his proceedings, forced him, much against his inclinations, to enter Rome, where he found himself obliged to relinquish the hopes of an honour which he thought himself no less sure of, than if it had been in his actual possession. It gives me great pleasure that these my just and honest invectives against your adversary, in conjunction with your own exalted merit, have secured you in your government, as I rejoice extremely, likewise, in the distinguished honours you have there received.

I very readily admit of your excuse in regard to Sempronius, well knowing that your conduct upon that occasion may justly be imputed to those errors to which we were all equally liable, whilst we trod the dark and dubious paths of bondage. I myself, indeed, the grave inspirer of your counsels, and the firm defender of your dignities, even I, my friend, was injudiciously hurried away by my indignation at the times, when, too hastily despairing of liberty,

berty, I attempted to retire into Greece[6]. But the Etesian winds, like so many patriot-citizens, refused to waft me from the commonwealth, whilst Auster, conspiring in their designs, collected his whole force, and drove me back again to Regium. From thence I returned to Rome, with all the expedition that sails and oars could speed me, and, the very next day after my arrival, I shewed the world that I was the only man, amidst a race of the most abject slaves, that dared to assert his freedom and independency[7]. I inveighed, indeed, against the measures of Antony with so much spirit and indignation, that he lost all manner of patience; and pointing the whole rage of his Bacchanalian fury at my devoted head, he at first endeavoured to gain a pretence of assassinating me in the senate; but that project not succeeding, his next resource was to lay wait for my life in private. But I extricated myself from his insidious snares, and drove him, all reeking with the fumes of his nauseous intemperance, into the toils of Octavius[a]. That excellent

[6] An account of this intended voyage has already been given in a former note. See rem. 3. p. 134. of this vol.

[7] This seems to allude to his having refused to pay obedience to a summons from Antony, to attend a meeting of the senate which was held on that day. See rem. 1. p. 142. of this vol.

[a] Octavius, as soon as he returned into Italy, after the death of Cæsar, endeavoured to secure Cicero in his interest, as

excellent youth drew together a body of troops, in the first place, for his own and my particular defence; and in the next, for that of the republic

as Cicero appeared no less forward to embrace the friendship of Octavius. They both of them, indeed, had one of the strongest of all motives, perhaps, for a mutual coalition; as there is nothing in which men seem to unite more amicably, than in hunting down the same common foe. The league, however, into which Cicero entered with Octavius, extended no farther, at first, than to a matter of mere civil controversy: and he only engaged to support Octavius in his claim of part of Cæsar's estate, which Antony, it was alledged, injuriously withheld from him. But even this was going a greater length than a true patriot could prudently have ventured. For though the contest between Antony and Octavius, with respect to the money in question, was altogether personal, yet " by natural consequence (as the accurate observer upon the epistles between Cicero and Brutus justly " remarks) it became a matter of more extensive concern. " In the first place, it was joined with the succession to the " name of Cæsar; which was looked upon by the chiefs of " the Cæsarian party as an earnest of the continuance of " the public settlement made by Cæsar in the person of Octavius; and, on the same account, it was always suspected " by the more discerning republicans. In the next place, it " gave Octavius the plausible occasion of being the distinguished assertor of Cæsar's acts, and of the full execution " of all his bequests: by which means he drew upon himself the eyes of all the veterans, the military force of the " empire, and interested the whole populace of Rome in his " cause; since it was the common cause of all who were expecting with impatience the effect of Cæsar's liberality." However, had Cicero's engagements with Octavius ended here, his conduct might have been excused, at least, though it certainly could not have been justified. But when he afterwards armed Octavius with the power and the dignities of the state; when he trusted (as the excellent author of the observations on his life ingeniously expresses it) *the last stake of liberty in the hands of a man who had so great temptations to betray it*, he seems clearly to have acted in contradiction to the sentiments of his heart, and to have sacrificed the cause of the republic

public in general; which, if he had not happily raised, Antony, in his return from Brundisium, would have spread desolation, like a wasting pestilence, around the land. What followed I need not add, as I imagine you are well apprised of all that has happened subsequent to that period. To return, then, to what gave occasion to this digression, let me again assure you, that I am perfectly well satisfied with your excuse concerning Sempronius. The truth is, it was impossible to act with any determined steadiness and uniformity in times of such total anarchy and confusion. "But other days "(to use an expression of Terence) are now "arrived, and other measures are now re-"quired." Come, then, my friend, let us sail forth together, and even take our place at the helm. All the advocates of liberty are embarked in one common bottom; and it is my utmost endeavour

republic to the hatred he bore to Antony. Plutarch expressly assigns this as Cicero's motive for declaring in favour of Octavius; which, indeed, is abundantly confirmed by his letters to Atticus. It appears from these that there was so little difference, with respect to the republican interest, whether Antony or Octavius was at the head of affairs, that neither Atticus nor Cicero could determine, in that view, which to prefer: *valde tibi essentior*, says our author to his friend, *si multum possit Octavianus, multó firmius acta tyranni comprobatum iri, quam in telluris: atque id contra Brutum fieri. Sin autem vincitur, vides intolerabilem Antonium, ut quem velis nescias.* Ad Att. xvi. 14. Plut. in Brut. Tunstal's observ. on the epist. between Brut. and Cic. p. 132. Observ. on the Life of Cic. p. 50.

endeavour to steer them right. May prosperous gales then attend our voyage! But, whatever winds may arise, my best skill, most assuredly, shall not be wanting: and is it in the power of patriotism to be answerable for more? In the mean time, let it be your care to cherish in your breast every generous and exalted sentiment, remembering always that your true glory must ever be inseparably connected with the republic. Farewel.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XIV.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

GALBA[1] to CICERO.

ON the 15th of this month, the day on which Pansa intended to join the army of Hirtius, Antony drew out of his lines the second and thirty-fifth legions, together with his own prætorian cohort, and that of Silanus[2]; both which were

[1] He had been one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul; but not being favoured by him in his pursuit of the consulship, he joined in the conspiracy with Brutus and Cassius. He was great grand-father to the emperor Galba. *Quartier*.

[2] He was military tribune in the army of Lepidus, and by the secret connivance, if not by the express orders, of that general, had conducted a body of troops to the assistance of Antony, in the siege of Modena. *Dio*. xlvi. p. 336.

were composed of the Evocati[3]. I happened, at this time, to be in Pansa's army, having been sent an hundred miles express, in order to hasten his march. Antony advanced towards us with these troops, in the supposition that our forces consisted only of four new-raised legions; whereas Hirtius, the better to secure our junction, had taken advantage of the preceding night to reinforce us with the *martial* legion, which I generally commanded, as also with two prætorian cohorts. These regiments, upon the very first appearance of Antony's cavalry, could by no means be restrained from engaging; so that we were under an absolute necessity of following them to the charge. Antony, in order to deceive us into a belief that none of his legions were with him, had posted them at Forum Gallorum[4], and only appeared with his horse and light-armed troops in view. Pansa, when he saw that, contrary to his inclination, the *martial* legion had rushed on to the attack, gave directions that two of his new-raised legions, which were behind, should immediately come up. As soon as we had passed the woods and a morass, we formed in order of battle with twelve cohorts[5]; the other two legions I just now mentioned not being

[3] See rem. 1. p. 340. vol. 1.

[4] Now called Castel-Franco, a small village on the Æmilian way, between Modena and Bologna.

[5] A cohort consisted of about four or five hundred men.

being yet arrived. Antony observing this, drew all his forces out of the village, and instantly began the engagement. Both sides maintained the first onset with the most obstinate bravery; though, indeed, our right wing, in which I commanded eight cohorts of the *martial* legion, at the very beginning of the action, repulsed Antony's thirty-fifth legion, and pursued them above ****[6] paces out of the field. But I no sooner observed the enemy's cavalry attempting to surround the wing from which I had advanced, than I endeavoured to rejoin it; ordering, at the same time, my light-armed troops to engage Antony's Moorish horse, lest they should fall upon us in our rear. But whilst I was attempting to regain my post, I found myself in the midst of the enemy's troops, and perceived Antony himself at a small distance behind me. Upon this, throwing my shield cross my shoulders, I gallopped full speed towards one of our new-raised legions, which I saw advancing from the camp; the enemy, at the same time pursuing me on the one side, and our own men aiming their pikes at me on the other; but, as the latter soon discovered who I was, I had the very extraordinary

[6] "The common editions add here *quingentos*, but it is "not found either in Dr. Mead's MS. or any other autho- "rity." Mr. *Ross*.

extraordinary good fortune to escape. Cæsar's prætorian cohort[6], which was posted on the Æmilian road, made a very long and vigorous resistance. But our left wing, in which were two cohorts of the martial legion, together with the prætorian cohort, and which formed, indeed, the weakest division of our army, began to give ground, being hemmed in by Antony's cavalry, in which he is extremely strong. As soon as all our troops had made good their retreat, I began to think of mine, and was the last that entered our camp. Antony, considering himself as master of the field, imagined he could, likewise, take possession of our camp; but, after an unsuccessful attempt, he retired with great loss.

As soon as Hirtius was informed of what had passed, he put himself at the head of twenty veteran cohorts, and meeting Antony in his return from the attack of our camp, engaged him upon the very spot where our action had just before happened, and entirely defeated his army.— About ten o'clock that night, Antony, with his cavalry, regained his camp near Mutina; as Hirtius retired to that which Pansa had quitted in the morning, and in which he had left the two legions that repulsed Antony.

The enemy have lost the greatest part of their

[6] Octavius.

their veteran troops. But this advantage was not to be obtained without a loss, likewise, on our side; the prætorian cohorts, together with the martial legion, having somewhat suffered in this action. We have taken two legionary standards[7], together with sixty others; and, upon the whole, have gained a very considerable victory. Farewel.

From the camp, April the 20th.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS to CICERO[8].

IT affords me great pleasure to reflect, that I have amply justified your favourable representations of me, by having strictly fulfilled the promises I made you. I give you a proof, likewise, of my particular affection, by acquainting you, before any other of my friends, with the measures I have taken. I hope you are well persuaded, that the republic will daily receive still stronger instances of my attachment; let me assure you, at least, that you shall

[7] Each legion had a chief standard carried before it, upon which was fixed the figure of an eagle; there was a particular one, likewise, to every company.

[8] When Plancus wrote this letter, he had not received advice of the action between the troops of Antony and those of the republic; of which an account has been given in the preceding epistle.

shall be more and more convinced of it by the clearest and most unquestionable evidence. As to what concerns my own personal interest, I protest to you, my dear Cicero, by all my hopes of rescuing the republic from those imminent dangers to which it is exposed, that notwithstanding I esteem those illustrious recompences which are conferred by the senate as no less desirable than immortal fame; yet, believe me, I shall not, in the least, remit of my earnest endeavours to assist the commonwealth, although I should never participate of its glorious rewards. If the ardour and efficacy of my zeal should not distinguish me, amidst those many excellent citizens who stand forth in the defence of our country, let not your suffrage contribute to the increase of my honours. I have no ambition inconsistent with that general equality for which I have taken up arms, and am perfectly well contented to leave it to your own determination, both when, and in what manner, my services shall be recompensed. Nothing, indeed, can be deemed too late or too inconsiderable, which is given to a man as a public testimony of his country's approbation.

Having reached the Rhone, by long marches, I passed that river, with my whole army, on the 27th of April, and immediately ordered a de-

tachment of a thousand horse to advance before me from Vienna[9], by a shorter road. If I meet with no obstructions on the part of Lepidus, I doubt not of giving the republic reason to be satisfied with my diligence and expedition; but, if he should attempt to intercept my passage, I must take my measures as circumstances shall require. Of this, however, I will now assure you, that the army I am conducting is highly respectable, whether considered with regard to the nature, the number, or the fidelity of my troops. I will only add, that I desire your friendship upon no other terms, than as you are sure I shall always give you the warmest returns of mine. Farewel.

LETTER

[9] 'Tis now called Vienne, a city in the province of Dauphiny, situated upon the Rhone.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

You are sensible how great a loss the republic has sustained by the death of Pansa[1]. It behoves you, therefore, to exert all your credit and address to prevent our enemies from entertaining any reasonable hope of recovering their strength, now that they have thus deprived us of both our consuls[2]. I am preparing to pursue Antony immediately; and, I trust, shall be able to render it impossible either for Antony to continue in Italy, or for Ventidius[3] to escape out of it. As

[1] Pansa died at Bologna a few days after the battle of Mutina, of the wounds he received in that action. *Appian.* iii. p. 572.

[2] Hirtius and Octavius, after the battle mentioned in the preceding note, "were determined, at all hazards, to relieve "Modena; and after two or three days spent in finding the "most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they "made their attack with such vigour, that Antony, rather than "suffer the town to be snatched, at last, out of his hands, chose "to draw out his legions and come to a general battle. The "fight was bloody and obstinate, and Antony's men, though "obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it; "till Decimus Brutus, taking the opportunity at the same "time to sally out of the town, at the head of his garrison, "helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. "Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced "his way into Antony's camp; but when he had gained the "middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the general's "tent." *Life of Cic.* iii. 204.

[3] Ventidius was a soldier of fortune, who from the meanest original

As I suppose you see very clearly the measures which Pollio will pursue, I need say nothing to you upon that article. But I make it my first and principal request, that you would send to Lepidus, in order, if possible, to prevent that light and inconstant man from renewing the war, by joining with Antony: as both Lepidus and Pollio are at the head of very numerous and powerful armies. I do not mention this as imagining that you are not equally attentive to these important points; but, from the firm persuasion that Lepidus, however dubious

original, became one of the most distinguished captains of the age. The father of Pompey having taken the city of Ascalum, in the Italic or social war, reserved part of the inhabitants to grace his triumphal entry into Rome; among which was the mother of Ventidius, who walked before the victor's car, with her infant son at her breast. When he grew up, the gained his livelihood by serving as a groom; in which employment having gotten together a little money, he furnished himself with some mules and carriages, which he let out to the government for the use of the proconsuls in their way to the provinces. In this capacity he became known to Cæsar, who observing in him a genius much superior to his station, took him into Gaul, where he advanced him in his army; and after the civil wars were ended, gave him a place in the senate, and created him prætor. After the death of Cæsar, he attached himself to the interest of Antony: to whose assistance he was at this time marching at the head of a considerable body of troops, which he had raised out of Cæsar's veteran legions that were dispersed in different parts of Italy. Towards the end of the present year, the triumvirate appointed him consul. Having, shortly afterwards, obtained a signal victory over the Parthians, his conduct and bravery were rewarded with a triumph: and, to crown the series of his glory, he was honoured, at his death, with a public funeral. *Aul. Gel.* xv. 4. *Dio.* xliii. *p.* 239. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 65.

bious it may perhaps appear to the senate, will never of himself act in the manner he ought. Let me entreat you, likewise, to confirm Plancus in his present resolutions: who, I should hope, when he sees Antony driven out of Italy, will not be wanting in his assistance to the republic. If the latter should have crossed the Alps, I purpose to post a proper number of forces to guard the passes of those mountains[4]: and you may depend upon my giving you regular notice of all my motions. Farewel.

From my camp at Regium[5].
April the 29th.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

How pleasing was the letter I received from you two days before our victory at Mutina! wherein you gave me an account of the state of your troops, of your zeal to the republic, and of the expedition with which you were advancing to the relief of Brutus. But, notwithstanding that the enemy was defeated before you

[4] The intent of this guard seems to have been what Mr. Ross conjectures, in order to intercept the march of Ventidius, and prevent him from following Antony over the Alps.

[5] A town upon the Æmilian way, between Modena and Parma. It is now called Reggio.

you could join our army, the hopes, nevertheless, of the commonwealth, are still fixed entirely upon you: as the principal leaders of these infamous rebels have escaped, it is said, from the field of battle. You will remember, therefore, that to exterminate the remains of this party, will be a service no less acceptable to the senate, than if you had given them the first repulse.

I am waiting, as well as many others, with great impatience for the return of your couriers. I hope that our late success will now induce even Lepidus himself to act in concert with you, for the defence of the common cause. I entreat you, my dear Plancus, to employ your utmost endeavours for this important purpose; that every spark of this horrid war may be utterly and for ever extinguished. If you should be able to effect this, you will render a most godlike service to your country, and at the same time procure immortal honour to yourself. Farewel.

May the 5th.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

To the same.

I SEIZED the very first opportunity of contributing to the augmentation of your dignities: and I omitted no distinction that could be considered either as the applause or reward of merit. This you will perceive by the decree which has been voted to your honour with the utmost zeal and unanimity in a very full house: and it is expressed in the very words I dictated from a paper which I had drawn up for that purpose. I was sensible, at the same time, from your letter, that it was more your ambition to approve your actions to every honest mind, than to be distinguished with these ensigns of glory: but I thought it incumbent upon the republic to consider, not what you desire, but what you deserve. Let me only entreat you to finish the work which others have so happily begun; remembering, that whoever shall destroy Antony, will have the whole honour of concluding this war. It is thus that Homer gives the glory, not to Ajax, nor Achilles, but to Ulysses alone, of having exterminated Troy[6]. Farewel.

LETTER

[6] In the original it is, *Homerus non Ajacem, nec Achillem, sed Ulyssem appellavit* πτολιπόρθιον; which is not strictly true; for

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

Decimus Brutus to Cicero.

I look upon the obligations I have received from you, as nothing inferior even to those which I have conferred upon the republic: but I am not capable, you are well assured, of making you so ill a return as I have experienced from some of my ungrateful countrymen. It might, perhaps, in the present conjuncture, be thought to have somewhat the air of flattery, were I to say, that your single applause outweighs, in my esteem, their whole united approbation. It is certain, however, that you view my actions by the faithful light of dispassionate truth and reason: whereas they, on the contrary, look upon them through the clouds of envy and malevolence. But I am little concerned how much soever they may oppose my honours, provided they do not obstruct me in my services to the republic: the very dangerous situation of which, let me now point out to you, in as few words as possible.

In

for Homer frequently gives that epithet to Achilles. Plancus, however, could not mistake the hint, that any stratagem would be fair and honourable which should for ever remove Antony out of their way.

In the first place, then, you are sensible what great disturbances the death of the consuls[7] may create in Rome: as it may give occasion to all the dangerous practices that ambition will suggest to those, who are desirous of succeeding to their office[8]. This is all that prudence will allow me to say in a letter: and all, indeed, that is necessary to be said to a man of your penetration. As to Antony, notwithstanding he made his escape from the field of battle with but a very few troops, and those too entirely disarmed; yet, by setting open the prisons, and by pressing all sorts of men that fell in his way, he has collected no contemptible number of forces. These have likewise been considerably augmented by the accession of the veteran and other troops of Ventidius: who, after a very difficult march over the Apennine mountains, has found means to join Antony in the fens of Sabata[9]. The only possible scheme which the latter can pursue, is, either to have recourse to Lepidus, if that general should be disposed to receive him; or to post himself on the Alps and Apennines, in order to make depredations with

[7] Hirtius and Pansa.

[8] This seems plainly to point at Octavius; who, in fact, soon after procured himself to be elected consul, in conjunction with Quintus Pedius.

[9] Between the Alps and the Apennines, on the coast of Genoa.

with his cavalry (in which he is exceedingly strong) on the neighbouring country; or to march into Etruria[1], where we have no army to oppose him. Had Cæsar, however, passed the Apennine mountains agreeably to my advice[2], I should have driven Antony into such difficulties, that, perhaps, without striking a single blow, I should have been able to have wasted his whole army by famine. But the misfortune is, that Cæsar will neither be governed by me, nor will his army be governed by him: both which are very unhappy circumstances for our cause. This then being the sad state of public affairs, can I be solicitous, as I said above, what opposition I may meet with in respect to my own personal honours? The particulars I have here mentioned are of so very delicate a nature, that I know not how you will be able to touch upon them in the senate: or if you should, I fear it will be to no purpose.

[1] Tuscany.

[2] "Octavius, from the beginning, had no thoughts of pursuing Antony. He had already gained what he aimed at; "had reduced Antony's power so low, and raised his own so "high, as to be in a condition of making his own terms with "him in the partition of the empire: whereas, if Antony had "been wholly destroyed, the republican party would have "probably been too strong for him and Lepidus. When Octavius was pressed, therefore, to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it until it was too late; taking himself "to be more usefully employed in securing to his interest "the troops of the consuls." *Life of Cic.* iii. 214.

pose. In the mean time, I am in no condition to subsist my troops any longer. When I first took up arms for the deliverance of the commonwealth, I had above four hundred thousand sestertia[3] in ready money: but at present I have not only mortgaged every part of my estate, but have borrowed all I could possibly raise on the credit of my friends. I leave you to judge, therefore, with what difficulty I now maintain seven legions at my own expence. The truth is, I should not be equal to so great a charge, were I possessed of all Varro's[4] immense treasures.

As soon as I shall receive any certain information of Antony's motions, I will give you notice. In the mean time, I will only add, that I desire the continuance of your friendship upon no other terms than as you shall find an equal return of mine. Farewel.

From my camp at Tertona[5].
May the 5th.

LETTER

[3] About 320,000l. sterling.

[4] Who this man of immense wealth was, is not known. There is no reason to believe that he was the celebrated Terentius Varro, to whom several letters in the preceding part of this collection are addressed.

[5] *Tortona*, about thirty miles north from Genoa.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 710.]

Plancus to Cicero.

I give you a thousand and a thousand thanks for your late favours, which, as long as I live, I shall always most gratefully acknowledge. More than this I dare not venture to promise: for I fear it will never be in my power to acquit such uncommon obligations, unless you should think (what your letter endeavours, indeed, with much serious eloquence to persuade me) that to remember them is to return them. You could not have acted with a more affectionate zeal, if the dignities of your own son had been in question: and I am perfectly sensible of the high honours that were decreed to me in consequence of your first motion for that purpose. I am sensible, too, that all your subsequent votes in my behalf were entirely conformable to the circumstances of the times and the opinion of my friends: as I am informed, likewise, of the advantageous colours in which you are perpetually representing me, as well as of the frequent contests you sustain with my injurious detractors. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, in the first place, to endeavour to convince the republic that I am worthy of the praises you bestow upon me; and, in the next

place, to render you sensible that I gratefully bear your friendship in remembrance. I will only add, under this article, that I desire you to protect me in the honours I have thus procured by your influence: but I desire it no otherwise than as my actions shall prove that I am the man you wish to find me.

As soon as I had passed the Rhone, I detached a body of three thousand[6] horse under the command of my brother, with orders to advance towards Mutina, to which place I intended to follow them with the rest of my army. But, on my march thither, I received advice that an action had happened, and that the siege was raised. Antony, I find, has no other resource left but to retire into these parts with the remains of his broken forces. His only hopes, indeed, are, that he may be able to gain either Lepidus or his army, in which there are some troops no less disaffected to the republic than those which served under Antony himself. I thought proper, therefore, to recal my cavalry, and to halt in the country of the Allobroges[7], that I may be ready to

[6] In the second letter of this book, Plancus says this detachment consisted only of a thousand horse; in one or other, therefore, of these passages, the transcribers must have committed some mistake.

[7] It comprehended the territories of Geneva, with part of Savoy and Dauphiné: and formed a district of the province under the command of Lepidus.

to act as circumstances shall require. If Antony should retire into this country destitute of men, I make no doubt, notwithstanding, that he should be received by the army of Lepidus, to be able to give a good account of him with my present forces. Should he even appear at the head of some troops, and should the tenth veteran legion revolt, which, together with the rest of those regiments, was, by my means, prevailed upon to engage in the service of the republic; yet I shall endeavour, by acting on the defensive, to prevent him from gaining any advantage over us; which I hope to effect, till a reinforcement from Italy shall enable me to exterminate this desperate crew. I will venture, at least, to assure you, my dear Cicero, that neither zeal nor vigilance shall be wanting on my part for that purpose. It is my sincere wish, indeed, that the senate may have no farther fears; but if any should still remain, no man will enter into their cause with greater warmth and spirit, nor be willing to suffer more in the support of it, than myself.

I am endeavouring to engage Lepidus to join with me in the same views: and I have promised him, if he will act with a regard to the interest of the republic, that I shall, upon all occasions, yield him an entire deference. I have employed my brother, together with Furnius

nius and Laterensis[9], to negociate this association between us: and no private injury done to myself shall ever prevent me from concurring with my greatest enemy, whenever it may be necessary for the defence of the commonwealth. But should these overtures prove unsuccessful, I shall still persevere with the same zeal (and, perhaps, with more glory) in my endeavours to give satisfaction to the senate. Take care of your health, and allow me an equal return of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul-elect, to CICERO.

I HAVE received a duplicate of the letter you sent me by my couriers; to which I can only say, in return, that my obligations to you rise much higher than I can easily discharge.

I gave you an account, in my last, of the posture of our affairs: since which I have received intelligence, that Antony is on his march towards Lepidus. Among some papers of Antony, which are fallen into my hands, I found a list of the several persons whom he intended to employ

[9] Furnius, it has already been observed, was lieutenant to Plancus, as Laterensis acted in the same capacity under Lepidus.

ploy as mediators in his behalf with Pollio, Lepidus and Plancus: so that he has not yet, it seems, given up all hopes of gaining the latter. Nevertheless, I did not hesitate to send an immediate express to Plancus, with advice of Antony's march. I expect, within a few days, to receive ambassadors from the Allobroges, and all the other districts of this province: and I doubt not of dismissing them strongly confirmed in their allegiance to the republic. You will be attentive on your part, I dare say, to promote all such necessary measures at Rome as shall be agreeable to your sentiments, and to the interest of the commonwealth. I am equally persuaded that you will prevent, if it be possible to prevent, the malevolent schemes of my enemies. But if you should not succeed in these generous endeavours, you will, at least, have the satisfaction to find, that no indignities they can throw upon me, are capable of deterring me from my purposes. Farewel.

From my camp on the frontiers of the Statiellenses[1].
May the 5th.

LETTER

[1] A territory in Liguria, the principal town of which was *Aquæ Statiellorum*, now called Aqui, in the district of Montserat.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS to CICERO.

SOME occurrences have arisen since I closed my former letter, of which I think it may import the republic that you should be apprised: as both the commonwealth and myself, I hope, have reaped advantage from my assiduity in the affair I am going to mention. I solicited Lepidus by repeated expresses to lay aside all animosities between us, and amicably unite with me in concerting measures for the succour of the republic; conjuring him to prefer the interest of his family and his country to that of a contemptible and desperate rebel; and assuring him, if he did so, that he might entirely command me upon all occasions. Accordingly, by the intervention of Laterensis, I have succeeded in my negotiation: and Lepidus has given me his honour, that if he cannot prevent Antony from entering his province[2], he will most certainly lead his army against him. He requests, likewise, that I would join him with my forces; and the rather, as Antony is extremely strong in cavalry, whereas, that of Lepidus

[2] Narbonensian Gaul: which, together with part of Spain, composed the province of Lepidus.

Lepidus is very inconsiderable: and out of these few, ten of his best men have lately deserted to my camp. As soon as I received this express, I lost no time to forward and assist the good intentions of Lepidus. I clearly saw, indeed, the advantage that would arise from my joining him: as my horse would be of service in pursuing and destroying Antony's cavalry, and, as the presence of my troops in general, would be a restraint upon the disaffected part of those under his command. To this end, having spent a day in throwing a bridge across the Isara[3], a very considerable river, that bounds the territories of the Allobroges, I passed it with my whole army on the 12th of May. But having received advice that Lucius Antonius[2] was advancing towards us with some regiments of horse and foot, and that he was actually arrived at Forum Julii[4]; I ordered, on the 14th, a detachment of four thousand horse to meet him, under the command of my brother: whom I purpose to follow by long marches with four light-armed legions and the remainder of my cavalry. And should that Fortune which presides over the republic, prove in any degree favourable to my arms, I shall soon

[3] It is now called the *Isere*, a river in Dauphiné, which falls into the Rhone.

[2] A brother of Mark Antony.

[4] Now called Frejus, a city in Provence.

soon put an end, at once, both to our own fears, and to the hopes of these insolent rebels. But if the infamous Antony, apprised of our approach, should retire towards Italy, it will be the business of Brutus to intercept his march; and Brutus, I am persuaded, will not be wanting either in courage or conduct for that purpose. Nevertheless, I shall, in that case, send my brother with a detachment of horse to harass Antony in his retreat, and to protect Italy from his depredations. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

CASSIUS, Proconsul, to CICERO.

YOUR letter[5] affords me a new proof of your extraordinary friendship. I find, by it, that you are not only a well-wisher to my interest, (as you have, at all times been, indeed, for the sake of the republic as well as for my own) but enter into it with the warmest and most anxious solicitude. I was persuaded, therefore, that as you could not suppose me capable of being inactive at a season when my country laboured under a general oppression, you would be im-

[5] This seems to be an answer to the 15th letter of the preceding book. p. 219.

impatient to hear both of my personal welfare, and of the success of my military preparations. For this reason, as soon as Aulus Allienus had resigned those legions into my hands which he brought from Egypt[6], I wrote to you by different couriers, whom I dispatched to Rome. I sent a letter, at the same time, to the senate; and, if my people obeyed their instructions, it was not delivered till it was first read to you. But, if these expresses should not be arrived, I am persuaded they have been intercepted by Dolabella; who, after having most villanously murdered Trebonius[7], has made himself master of his province.

All

[6] See rem. 3. p. 206. of this vol.

[7] It has already been observed in rem. 4. p. 194. of this vol. that Dolabella left Rome before the expiration of his consulship, in order to possess himself of the government of Syria. In his way thither, he arrived at Smyrna; where Trebonius, proconsul of Asia Minor, resided. Trebonius refused him admittance into the city, but treated him, however, with great civility, and many compliments mutually passed between them. With these, Dolabella appeared satisfied, and pretending to pursue his march, proceeded towards Ephesus; but he returned in the night, and making himself master of the city by surprise, seized Trebonius in his bed. Cicero, in one of his Philippics, expatiates upon the cruelties which Dolabella exercised on this his unfortunate, but illustrious prisoner. He kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of the public money in his custody, insulting him, at the same time, with the most opprobrious language; he then ordered his head to be cut off, and exhibited to the populace on the point of a spear, his body to be dragged through the principal streets of Smyrna, and afterwards to be thrown into the sea. See rem. 8. p. 99. of this vol. *Appian. B. C.* iii. p. 542. *Phil.* xi. 2. 3.

All the troops which I found in Syria, have submitted to my authority. However, I have been a little retarded in my preparations, in order to distribute some donatives which I had promised to the soldiers, but I have now discharged my engagements.

If you are sensible that I have refused no labours nor dangers for the service of my country; if it was by your advice and persuasion, that I took up arms against those infamous invaders of our liberties; if I have not only raised an army for the defence of the commonwealth, but have even snatched it from most cruel and oppressive hands; let these considerations recommend my interests to your care and protection. Had Dolabella, indeed, possessed himself of these forces, the expectation of such an additional body of troops, even before they had actually joined Antony, would greatly have confirmed and strengthened his party. If, upon this account, therefore, you think these soldiers deserve highly of the republic, let them experience the benefit of your patronage, nor suffer them to have reason to regret, that they preferred their duty to the commonwealth, to all the powerful temptations of plunder and rapine. I must also recommend it to your care, that due honours be paid to the

the generals, Marcus and Crispus[8]. As to Bassus, he obstinately refused to deliver up the legion under his command; and had they not, without his consent, deputed some of their officers to treat with me, he would have shut the gates of Apamea, and forced me to have entered the town by assault. I make these requests, then, as well in the name of our friendship, which, I trust, will have much weight with you; as in that of the republic, which has ever, I know, been the object of your warmest affection. Believe me, the army under my command is zealously attached not only to the senate, and to every friend of our country, but particularly to yourself. The frequent accounts, indeed, they hear of your patriot-disposition, have extremely endeared you to them, and should they find their interests to be a part of your concern, they will consider you, in all respects, as their first and greatest benefactor.

Since I wrote the above, I have received intelligence that Dolabella is marched into Cilicia, whither I purpose immediately to follow him. I will give you early notice of the event of this expedition, and may I so prove successful, as I shall endeavour to deserve well of the republic.

[8] Some account of these persons, as well as of Bassus, mentioned in the next sentence, has been given in the preceding remarks.

republic. Take care of your health, and continue your friendship to me. Farewel.

From my camp, May the 7th.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 710.]

To DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

THE message you commissioned Galba and Volumnius to deliver to the senate, sufficiently intimates the nature of those fears and suspicions which you imagine we have reason to entertain. But I must confess, that the apprehensions you would thus infuse into us, seem, by no means, worthy of that glorious victory you have obtained over the enemies of the commonwealth. Believe me, my dear Brutus, both the senate, and the generals that support its cause, are animated with an undaunted resolution; we were sorry, therefore, that you, whom we esteem the bravest captain that ever the republic employed, should think us capable of any timidity. Is it possible, indeed, after having confidently reposed our hopes on your courage and conduct, when you were invested by Antony in all the fulness of his strength and power, that any of us should harbour the least fear now that the siege is raised, and the ene-

my's army entirely overthrown? Nor have we any thing, surely, to apprehend from Lepidus. For who can imagine him so utterly void of all rational conduct, as to have professed himself an advocate for peace, when we were engaged in a most necessary and important war, and yet to take up arms against the republic the moment that most desirable peace is restored? You are far too sagacious, I doubt not, to entertain such a thought[9]. Nevertherless, the fears you have renewed amongst us, at a time when every temple throughout Rome is resounding with our thanksgivings for your deliverance, have cast a very considerable damp upon our joy. May the fact prove, then, (what, indeed, I am inclined to believe as well as hope) that Antony is completely vanquished. But should he happen to recover some degree of strength, he will most assuredly find that neither the senate is destitute of wisdom, nor the people of courage; I will add, too, nor the republic of a general, so long as you shall be alive to lead forth her armies. Farewel.

May the 19th.

LETTER

[9] It will appear, in the progress of these letters, that if Cicero was really in earnest in what he here says concerning Lepidus, it was he himself, and not Brutus, who wanted sagacity.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS to CICERO.

ANTONY arrived at Forum-Julii, with the van of his army, on the 15th of May, and Ventidius is only two days march behind him. Lepidus writes me word, that he proposes to wait for me at Forum-Voconii[1], where he is at present encamped, a place about four-and-twenty miles distant from Forum-Julii. If he and Fortune do not deceive my expectations, the senate may depend upon my speedily terminating this business to their full satisfaction.

I mentioned to you, in a former letter, that the great fatigues which my brother had undergone, by his continual marches, had extremely impaired his constitution. However, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to get abroad, he considered his health as an acquisition which he had gained as much for the service of the republic, as for himself; and was the first, therefore, to engage in every hazardous expedition. But I have recommended it to him, and, indeed, insisted, that he should return to Rome, as he would be much more likely to wear himself away by continuing in the camp,

[1] Now called *Le Luc*, in Provence.

camp, than be able to give me any assistance. Besides, I imagined, now that the republic was most unhappily deprived of both the consuls, that the presence of so worthy a magistrate would be absolutely necessary at Rome. But if any of you should think otherwise, let *me* be censured for my imprudent advice; but let not by brother be condemned as failing in his duty.

Lepidus, agreeably to my request, has delivered Apella into my hands, as an hostage for the faithful execution of his engagements to co-operate with me in the defence of the commonwealth. Lucius Gellius, has given me proofs of his zeal, as he has acted also in the affair of the three brothers, to the satisfaction of Sextus Gavianus. I have lately employed the latter in some negociations between Lepidus and myself, and I have found him firmly attached to the interest of the republic. It is with great pleasure I give this testimony in his favour, a tribute which I shall always be ready to pay wherever it is deserved.

Take care of your health, and allow me the same share of your heart which you most assuredly possess of mine. I recommend my dignities, likewise, to your protection; and I hope, if I can plead any merit, you will con-

tinue your good offices to me with the same singular affection you have hitherto discovered. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To CORNIFICIUS.

You recommend a friend of my own, when you desire my good offices to Lucceius: be assured I shall faithfully support his interest by every mean in my power.

We have lost our colleagues[2], Hirtius and Pansa: and the death of these excellent consuls, who discharged their office with great advantage to the republic, has happened at a very unseasonable conjuncture. For though we are at present delivered from the oppressions of Antony, we are not wholly free from all apprehensions of danger. But, if I may be permitted, I shall continue my usual endeavours to preserve the commonwealth from ruin; though, I must confess, I am full weary of the work. No lassitude, however, ought to obstruct the duties we owe to our country.---But I forbear to enter farther into this subject, as I had rather you should hear of my actions from others, than from myself. The account I receive of yours is entirely agreeable to my wishes; but it

[2] In the college of augurs.

it is far otherwise with respect to the reports concerning Minucius. They are, indeed, very unfavourable to his character, notwithstanding all the fine things you said of him in one of your letters. I should be glad to know the truth of the case, and to be informed of every thing else which is transacting in your province. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 710.]

To Decimus Brutus, consul-elect.

It is with infinite satisfaction, my dear Brutus, that I find you approve of my conduct in the senate, with respect both to the decemvirs[9], and to the honours decreed to our young[1] man. Yet, after all, what have my labours availed? Believe me, my friend, (and you know I am not apt to boast) the senate was the grand engine of my power: but all those springs which I used so successfully to manage, have utterly lost

[9] These decemvirs were probably the ten persons whom the senate, in the first transports of their supposed complete victory before the walls of Modena, had appointed to enquire into the conduct of Antony, during his administration of the consular office. *Vid. Appian. B. C.* iii. 578.

[1] Octavius. The honours here mentioned were, perhaps, the ovation, (a kind of inferior and less splendid triumph) which, by the influence of Cicero, was decreed to young Cæsar, for his services at the siege of Modena. See *Life of Cic.* iii. p. 211.

lost their force, and I can no longer direct its motions. The truth of it is, the news of your glorious sally from the garrison of Mutina, of Antony's flight, and of his army being entirely cut to pieces, had inspired such confident hopes of a complete victory, that the disappointment has cast a general damp upon the spirit I had raised against our enemies; and all my ardent invectives seem at last to have proved just as insignificant as if I had been combating with my own shadow. But to the purpose of your letter.---Those who are acquainted with the dispositions of the fourth and the *martial* legions, assure me, they will never be prevailed on to serve under you. As to the supply of money which you desire, some measures may, and most assuredly shall, be taken in order to raise it. I am wholly in your sentiments with regard to the calling Brutus[2] out of Greece, and retaining Cæsar here for the protection of Italy. I agree with you, likewise, my dear Brutus, that you have enemies; and though I find it no very difficult matter to sustain their attacks, yet still, however, they somewhat embarrass my schemes in your favour.

The legions from Africa[3] are daily expected. In

[2] Marcus Brutus.

[3] These were some of the veteran legions that had served under Julius Cæsar. See rem. 4. on let. 18. of this book.

In the mean time, the world is greatly astonished to find that the war is broke out again in your province. Nothing, in truth, ever happened so unexpectedly; as we had promised ourselves, from the account of the victory which was brought to us on your birth-day, that the peace of the republic was established for many generations. But now all our fears are revived with as much strength as ever.

You mentioned in your letter, dated the 15th of May, that you were just informed, by an express from Plancus, that Lepidus had refused to receive Antony. Should this prove to be fact, our business will be so much the easier; if not, we shall have a very difficult struggle to maintain; and it depends upon you to ease me of my great apprehensions for the event. As for my own part, I have exhausted all my powers, and I am utterly incapable of doing more than I have already performed. It is far otherwise, however, with my friend; and I not only wish, but expect, to see you the greatest and most distinguished of Romans. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 710.]

To PLANCUS.

NOTHING, my dear Plancus, could be more glorious to yourself, nor more acceptable to the senate, than the letter you lately addressed to that assembly: I will add too, nothing could be more opportune than the particular juncture in which it was delivered. Cornutus received it in the presence of a very full house, just as he had communicated to us a cold and irresolute letter from Lepidus. Yours was read immediately afterwards, and it was heard with the loudest acclamations of applause. It was highly pleasing, indeed, to the senate, not only from the importance of its contents, and those zealous services to the republic of which it gave us an account, but from that strength and elegance of expression with which it was animated. The senate was extremely urgent that it might immediately be taken into consideration: but Cornutus thought proper to decline their request: However, the whole assembly expressing great indignation at his refusal, the question was put by five of the tribunes of the people. When Servilius was called upon for his opinion, he moved that the debate might

might be adjourned. What my sentiments were (and I was supported in them by the unanimous concurrence of the whole house) you will see by the decree that passed upon this occasion.

I am sensible that your own superior judgment is abundantly sufficient to direct you in all emergencies; yet I cannot forbear advising you not to wait for the sanction of the senate in so critical a conjuncture as the present, and which undoubtedly must often demand immediate action. Be a senate, my friend, to yourself; and, without any other authority, scruple not to pursue such measures as the interest of the republic shall require. In one word, let your actions anticipate our expectations, and give us the pleasure of hearing that you have executed some glorious exploit, ere we are so much as apprised that you even had it in your intention. I will venture to assure you, that the senate will most certainly approve both your zeal and your judgment in whatever you shall thus undertake. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 710.]

To DECIMUS BRUTUS, Consul elect.

I AM indebted to you for your short letter by Flaccus Volumnius, as well as for two others more full, one of which was brought by the courier of Titus Vibius, the other was forwarded to me by Lupus; and all of them came to my hands on the same day. I find, by your own account, as well as by that which Græceius has given me, that the war, far from being extinguished, seems to be breaking out again with greater violence. You are sensible, if Antony should gain any strength, that all your illustrious services to the republic will be utterly frustrated. The first accounts we received here, and which, indeed, were universally credited, represented him as having run away in great consternation, attended only with a few frightened and disarmed soldiers. But if the truth, after all, should be (what Græceius assures me) that Antony is, in fact, so strong as to render it unsafe to give him battle, he does not seem so much to have fled from Mutina, as to have changed the seat of war. This unexpected news has given all Rome another countenance, and a general air of dis-

appointment

appointment appears in every face. There are even some amongst us who complain of your not having immediately pursued Antony; for they imagine, if no time had been lost, that he must inevitably have been destroyed. But it is usual with the people in all governments, and especially in ours, to be particularly disposed to abuse their liberty, by licentious reflections on those to whom they are indebted for the enjoyment of it. However, one should be careful not to give them any just cause for their censures.

To say all in one word, whoever destroys Antony will have the glory of terminating the war: a hint which I had rather leave to your own reflections, than enter myself into a more open explanation[3]. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

I WILL no longer attempt to make any formal acknowledgments of the repeated instances I receive of your friendship: mere words are a very inadequate return to those obligations which my best services can but ill repay. If you will look back upon my former letters, you cannot

[3] See rem. 6. p. 260. of this vol.

cannot be at a loss to discover the reasons that prevented me from pursuing Antony immediately after the battle of Mutina. The truth, my dear Cicero, is, that I was not only unprovided both with cavalry and baggage-horses, but not having at that time had an interview with Cæsar, I could not depend on his assistance: and I was wholly ignorant, likewise, that Hirtius was killed. This will account for my not having pursued Antony on the day of the engagement. The day following I received an express from Pansa, to attend him at Bononia; but, in my way thither, being informed of his death, I immediately returned back to join my little corps. I may justly call them so, indeed, as my forces are extremely diminished, and in a very bad condition, from the great hardships they suffered during the siege. It was by these means that Antony got two days' advance of me; and, as he marched in disorder, he could retire much faster than it was in my power to pursue. He increased his forces likewise by pressing the inhabitants, and throwing open the prisons in every town through which he passed: and in this manner he continued his march till he arrived in the fens of Sabata. This is a place with which I must bring you acquainted. It is situated between the Alps and the Apennines, and the roads

roads that lie about it are scarce practicable. When I had reached within thirty miles of Antony, I was informed that he had been joined by Ventidius, and had made a speech at the head of their combined troops, to persuade them to follow him over the Alps; assuring them that Lepidus had agreed to support him. Nevertheless, not only his own soldiers (which, indeed, are a very inconsiderable number) but those likewise of Ventidius, repeatedly and unanimously declared that they were determined either to conquer, or perish in Italy; and at the same time desired that they might be conducted to Pollentia[a]. Antony found it in vain to oppose them: however, he deferred his march till the ensuing day. As soon as I received this intelligence, I detached five cohorts to Pollentia; and am now following them with the remainder of my troops. This detachment threw themselves into that city an hour before Trebellius arrived with his cavalry; a circumstance which gives me great satisfaction, as it is a point, I think, upon which our whole success depends. When the enemy found that their designs were thus frustrated, they conceived hopes of crossing the Alps into Gaul; as they supposed the four legions commanded by Plancus would not be

[a] Some remains of this city still subsist, under the name of *Polenza*. It is situated at the confluence of the Stura and the Tanaro, in Piedmont.

be able to withstand their united forces, and that an army from Italy could not overtake them soon enough to prevent their passage.--- However, the Allobroges, together with my detachment, have hitherto been sufficient to prevent their design; which, I trust, they will find still more difficult to effect, when I shall come up with the rest of my forces. But should they happen, in the mean time, to pass the Isara, I shall exert my utmost endeavours that this circumstance may not be attended with any ill consequences to the commonwealth.

Let it raise the spirits and the hopes of the senate, to observe that Plancus and myself, together with our respective armies, act in perfect concert with each other, and are ready to hazard every danger in support of the common cause. However, whilst you thus confidently rely on our zeal and diligence, you will remit nothing, I hope, of your own, but employ your utmost care to send us a reinforcement, as well as every other necessary supply, that may render us in a condition to defend your liberties against those who have infamously conspired their ruin. One cannot, indeed, but look upon these our enemies with so much the greater indignation, as they have acted with the vilest hypocrisy, and suddenly turned those troops against their country, which they long pretended to have raised for its defence. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

I WISH you would peruse the letter I have addressed to the senate, and make what alterations you shall judge proper. You will find by it, that I am under an absolute necessity of thus applying to them. Whilst I imagined that I should be joined by the fourth and martial legions[4], agreeably to the decree of the senate which passed for that purpose on the motion of Paulus and Drusus, I was less solicitous about the rest: but now that I have only some new-raised regiments, and those too extremely ill accoutred, I cannot but be apprehensive upon your accounts, as well as upon my own.

The citizens of Vicentia[5] have always distinguished Marcus Brutus and myself by their particular regard. I entreat you, therefore, to endeavour that justice be done them by the senate, in the affair concerning the slaves. They are,

[4] These were veteran legions which had served under Cæsar. But, notwithstanding that they entered into the army of the late consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, they could by no means be prevailed with to join Decimus Brutus; in resentment, 'tis probable, of the part he bore in the conspiracy against their favourite general. *Vid. Ep. Famil.* xi. 14.

[5] *Vicenza*, a maritime city in the territories of the Venetians.

are, indeed, entitled to your favour, both by the equity of their cause, and the fidelity with which they have, upon all occasions, persevered in their allegiance to the republic: whereas their adversaries, on the contrary, are a most seditious and faithless people. Farewel.

Vercellæ[6], May the 21st.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 710.]

MARCUS LEPIDUS[b] to CICERO.

HAVING received advice that Antony was advancing with his troops towards my province, and had sent before him a detachment of his cavalry, under the command of his brother Lucius, I moved with my army from the confluence of the Rhone and the Arar[7], in order to oppose their passage. I continued my march without halting, till I arrived at Forum Voconii, and am now encamped somewhat beyond that town, on the river Argenteus[8], opposite to Antony. Ventidius has joined him with his three legions, and has formed his camp a little above mine. Antony, before this conjunction, had the second legion entire, together with a considerable

[6] Vercelli, in the dutchy of Milan.

[b] See rem. [a], p. 217. of this vol.

[7] The *Saone*, which falls into the Rhone at Lyons.

[8] The Argens, in Provence: it empties itself into the Mediterranean, a few miles below Frejus.

able number of men, though, indeed, wholly unarmed, who escaped from the general slaughter of his other legions: he is extremely strong in cavalry; for, as none of those troops suffered in the late action, he has no less than ***[9] horse. Great numbers of his soldiers, both horse and foot, are continually deserting to my camp; so that his troops diminish every day. Both Silanus[1] and Culeo[2] have left his army, and are returned to mine. But notwithstanding I was greatly offended by their going to Antony, contrary to my inclination, yet, in regard to the connexions that subsist between us, and in compliance with my usual clemency, I have thought proper to pardon them. However, I do not, upon any occasion, employ their services, nor, indeed, suffer them to remain in my camp.

As to what concerns my conduct in this war, you may depend upon it I shall not be wanting in my duty either to the senate or the republic; and whatever farther measures I shall take to this end, I shall not fail to communicate them to you.

The

[9] The number is omitted in all the ancient MSS.

[1] See rem. 2. p. 250. of this vol.

[2] He had been sent by Lepidus with a body of men, under the pretence of guarding the passes of the Alps; but, most probably, with secret instructions to favour the march of Antony over those mountains, in his way to the camp of Lepidus; for he suffered Antony to pass them without the least obstruction. *Appian, B. C.* iii. p. 579.

The friendship between us has upon all occasions been inviolably preserved on both sides, and we have mutually vied in our best good offices to each other. But I doubt not that, since this great and sudden commotion has been raised in the commonwealth, some false and injurious reports have been spread of me by my enemies, which, in the zeal of your heart for the interest of the republic, have given you much uneasiness. I have the satisfaction, however, to be informed by my agents at Rome, that you are by no means disposed easily to credit these idle rumours; for which I think myself, as I justly ought, extremely obliged to you. I am so, likewise, for the former instances of your friendship, in promoting my public honours, the grateful remembrance of which, be assured, is indelibly impressed upon my heart.

Let me conjure you, my dear Cicero, if you are sensible that my public conduct has upon all occasions been worthy of the name I bear, to be persuaded that I shall continue to act with equal, or, if possible, even with superior zeal[3]. Let me hope, too, that the greater the favours are

[3] There was so little of truth in these professions, that Lepidus, within a very few days from the date of this letter, openly joined with Antony against the senate. See let. 28. of this book.

are which you have conferred upon me, the more you will think yourself engaged to support my credit and character. Farewel.

From my camp, at Pous Argenteus, May the 22d.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 710.]

Plancus to Cicero.

You have been apprised, no doubt, by Lævus and Nerva, as well as by the letter they delivered to you on my part, of the design I was meditating when they left me; as, indeed, they have constantly borne a share in all my councils and measures of every kind. It has happened, however, to me, what happens not unfrequently, I suppose, to every man who is tender of his reputation, and desirous of approving his conduct to the friends of his country: I have given up a safer scheme, as being liable, perhaps, to some ill-natured exceptions, in exchange for a more dangerous one that may better evince my zeal. I am to inform you, then, that, after the departure of my lieutenants[*], I received two letters from Lepidus, entreating me to join him. These were seconded by the much stronger solicitations of Laterensis,

[*] Lævus and Nerva, the persons mentioned above.

Laterensis, who earnestly represented to me (what, indeed, I am also apprehensive of myself) that there is great reason to fear a mutiny among the disaffected troops under the conduct of Lepidus. I determined immediately, therefore, to march to his assistance, and take an equal share in the dangers with which he was threatened. I was sensible, at the same time, that to wait on the banks of the Isara till Brutus should pass that river with his army, and to meet the enemy in conjunction with my colleague, whose forces, as well as their general, would act in perfect harmony with me and my troops, would be much the most cautious measure with respect to my own personal security. But I reflected, that if any misfortune should attend Lepidus, it would be wholly imputed to me, and I should be condemned either as obstinately suffering my resentment to prevent me from giving succour to my enemy in the cause of the republic, or of timidly avoiding to take part in the danger of a most just and necessary war. As my presence, therefore, might be a mean of protecting Lepidus, and of bringing his army into a better disposition, I resolved to expose myself to all hazards, rather than appear to act with too much circumspection. But never was any man more anxious in an affair for which he was in no sort answerable, than I am

in

in the present; for though I should have no manner of doubt if the army of Lepidus were not concerned, yet, under that circumstance, I am full of apprehensions for the event. Had it been my fortune to have met Antony before my junction with Lepidus, I am sure he would not have been able to have kept the field against me even a single hour; such is the confidence I have in my own troops, and so heartily do I despise his broken forces, as well as those of that paltry muleteer, the contemptible Ventidius[5]. But, as the case is now circumstanced, I dread to think what may be the consequence, should any ill humours lie concealed in the army of Lepidus; as they may possibly break out in all their malignity, before they can be remedied, or even discovered. It is certain, however, that Lepidus, together with the well-affected part of his army, would be exposed to great danger, if we should not act in conjunction: besides that, our infamous enemies would gain a very considerable advantage, should they draw off any of his forces. If my presence, therefore, should prove a mean of preventing these evils, I shall think myself much indebted to my courage and good fortune for engaging me to make the experiment. With this design I moved with my army from the banks of the Isara on the 21st of May,

[5] See rem. 3. p. 256. of this vol.

May, having first erected a fort at each end of the bridge which I had thrown over that river, and placed a strong party to defend it, that when Brutus shall arrive, he may have nothing to retard his passage. I have only to add, that I hope to join Lepidus within eight days from the date of this letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 710.]

From the same, to CICERO.

I SHOULD be ashamed that this letter is so little consistent with my former, if it arose from any instability of my own. But it is much otherwise; and I have steadily pursued every measure in my power to engage Lepidus to act in concert with me, for the defence of the republic, imagining it would render you less apprehensive of my success against our wretched enemies. To this end, I not only complied with all the conditions he proposed, but even engaged for more than he demanded; and I had so much confidence in the sincerity of his intentions, that I ventured to assure you, no longer than two days ago, that he would zealously co-operate with me in carrying on the war upon one common plan. I depended, indeed, upon the promises he had given me under his own hand, together with the assurances

I had likewise received from Laterensis, who was at that time in my camp, and who earnestly conjured me to forget all resentments against Lepidus, and to rely upon his good faith. But Lepidus has now put it out of my power to entertain these favourable hopes of him any longer: however, I have taken, and shall continue to take, all necessary precautions, that the republic may not be prejudiced by my too easy credulity. I am to inform you, then, that, after I had used the utmost expedition (agreeably to his own earnest request) to transport my army over the Isara, and for that purpose had, in the space of a single day, thrown a bridge across that river, I received a counter-express from him, requiring me to advance no farther, as he should not have occasion, he said, for my assistance. Nevertheless, I will own to you, I was so imprudent as to proceed in my march, believing that the true reason of his thus changing his mind arose from an unwillingness to have a partner with him in his glory. I imagined that, without depriving him of any share of that honour which he seemed so desirous to monopolize, I might post myself at some convenient distance, in order to be ready to support him with my troops, in case he should be pressed by the enemy: an event which, in the simplicity of my heart, I thought not improbable. In the mean time

time I received a letter from the excellent Laterensis, which was conceived in terms full of despair. He complained that he had been greatly deceived, and assured me that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted. He expressly cautioned me, at the same time, to be upon my guard against their artifices; adding, that he had faithfully discharged the engagements he had entered into on his part, and hoped I would act with the same fidelity to the republic on mine. I have sent a copy of this letter to Titius, and purpose to transmit the originals of all the rest relating to this affair, by the hands of Lævus Cispius, who was privy to the whole transaction. I shall insert in this packet the letters of Lepidus, to which I did not give any credit, as well as those to which I did.

I must not forget to add, that when Lepidus harangued his soldiers, these mighty honest fellows were exceedingly clamorous for peace. They protested that, after the loss of both the consuls, after the destruction of so many brave men, who had perished in defence of their country, and after Antony and his adherents had been declared enemies of the commonwealth, and their estates confiscated, they were determined not to draw their swords any more either on the one side or the other. They were prompted to behave thus mutinously, not only by

by the insolent suggestions of their own hearts, but by the encouragement also of their officers, particularly Canidius, Rufrenus, and others, whose names the senate shall be acquainted with at a proper season. Lepidus was so far from punishing this sedition, that he did not take even a single step to restrain it. I thought, therefore, that it would be the highest temerity to expose my own faithful troops, together with my auxiliaries, which are commanded by some of the most considerable chiefs of Gaul, and in effect, too, my whole province, to their combined armies. I considered, if I should thus lose my life, and involve the republic in my own destruction, I should fall, not only without honour, but without pity. In consequence of these reflections, I have determined to march my forces back again, that our wretched enemies may not have so great an advantage as my advancing any farther might possibly give them. I shall endeavour to post my army so advantageously as to cover the province under my command from being insulted, even supposing the troops of Lepidus should actually revolt. In short, it shall be my care to preserve every thing in its present situation till the senate shall send an army hither, and vindicate the liberties of the republic with the same success in this part of the world, as at-

tended

tended their arms before the walls of Mutina. In the mean time, be assured, that no man will act with more fervent zeal than myself in all the various occurrences of the war: and I shall most readily either encounter the enemy in the field, or sustain the hardships of a siege, or even lay down my life itself, as any of these circumstances shall prove necessary for the service of the senate. Let me exhort you, then, my dear Cicero, to exert your utmost efforts to send a speedy reinforcement to me, ere Antony shall have increased the number of his forces, or our own shall be entirely dispirited. For if dispatch be given to this affair, these infamous banditti will undoubtedly be extirpated, and the republic remain in full possession of her late victory. Take care of your health, and continue your friendship to me.

P. S. I know not whether it may be necessary to make any excuse for the absence of my brother, who was prevented from attending me in this expedition, by a slow fever, occasioned by the great fatigues he has lately undergone. As no man has shewn more zeal or courage in the cause of the republic, he will undoubtedly return to the duties of his post the very first moment his health shall permit.

I recommend my honours to your protection; though I must confess, at the same time, that

that all my desires ought to be satisfied, since I enjoy the privilege of your friendship, and the satisfaction of seeing you invested with the high credit aud authority I have ever wished you. I will leave it, therefore, entirely to yourself, both when and in what manner I shall experience the effect of your good offices; and will only request you to suffer me to succeed Hirtius in your affection, as I certainly do in the respect and esteem he bore you. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 710.]

To Furnius[7].

If the interest of the republic requires the continuance of your services, and it be necessary (as all the world, indeed, is of opinion it is) that you should bear a part in those important operations, which must extinguish the remaining flames of the war, you cannot, surely, be engaged in a more worthy, a more laudable, or a more illustrious pursuit. I think, therefore, you should by no means interrupt your applauded efforts in the cause of liberty, for the sake of obtaining the prætorship somewhat earlier than you are regularly entitled to enjoy it. I say your *applauded* efforts: for let not my

[7] He had been tribune in the year of Rome 703, and was at this time in the army of Plancus, as one of his lieutenants.

my friend be ignorant of the fame which his conduct has acquired. Believe me, it is inferior only to that of Plancus himself, both by his own confession, and in the judgment too of all the world. If there is any farther service then remaining for you to perform to your country, you ought to pursue it with an unbroken application, as an employment, of all others, the most truly honourable: and what, my friend, shall stand in competition with true honour? But should you imagine that you have amply satisfied the duties you owe to the commonwealth, I do not dissuade you from hastening hither when the time of the elections shall approach, provided this ambitious impatience shall nothing diminish from the lustre of that reputation you have so justly obtained. I could name, however, many instances of persons of great distinction, who, during their engagements in the service of the republic abroad, have renounced their legal pretensions of soliciting employments at home; a sacrifice which, in your own case, will be so much the less, as you are not at present strictly qualified to offer yourself as a candidate. Had you already, indeed, passed through the office of ædile, and two years[8] had intervened since your

[8] By the laws of Rome a man could not be chosen prætor

your exercising that function; the self-denial would have been greater: whereas now you will forego nothing of the usual and stated time of petitioning for the post in question. I am very sensible that your interest is much too strong to require the assistance of Plancus: nevertheless, should his arms be attended with the success we wish, your applications would certainly appear with greater advantage were they deferred till the time of his consulate.

Thus much (as I was willing you should know my sentiments) I thought proper to say: but more, I am persuaded, your own good sense and judgment would render unnecessary. The sum of all, then, is shortly this: that I would have you regulate your conduct, upon all occurrences, not by the common standard of popular ambition, but by that of true and solid glory; and look upon a lasting reputation as of more value than the transient honour of enjoying the prætorian office somewhat earlier than usual. I had a consultation the other day at my house upon this subject, with your very good friends Cæcina, Calvisius, and my brother, at which your freedman Dardanus was likewise present: and they every one of them joined

till two years after he had served the office of ædile; and the same distance of time was likewise required between the prætorship and the consulate.

joined with me in the opinion I have here given you. But after all, you yourself are the best and most competent judge. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

FRIENDSHIP and gratitude make me feel, upon your account, what I never felt upon my own; and I will confess, that I am not without fear in regard to a story which has been propagated concerning you. I thought it by no means a matter to be despised when I had only heard of it, as I frequently did, from common report: but it has lately been mentioned to me, likewise, by Segulius. This man tells me (tho' what he says, indeed, is generally of a piece with the rest of his character) that paying a visit at Cæsar's, where you were much the subject of the conversation, Cæsar complained (and it was the only charge, it seems, which he brought against you) of an ambiguous expression[4] which you had made use of concerning him. I suspect the

[4] The expression itself is inserted in the original; but as it turns upon an ambiguity that will not hold in our language, it was impossible to preserve it in the translation. *Laudandum adolescentum*, Cicero is charged with having said, *ornandum, tollendum*: the last of which words is capable of a double meaning, and may imply either that Octavius should be advanced to the dignities of the state, or that his life should be

the whole to be a mere fiction of Segulius: or, at least, that it was he himself who reported these words to Cæsar. Segulius endeavoured, at the same time, to persuade me that you are in great danger of falling a victim to the resentment of the veteran legions, who speak of you, he pretends, with much indignation. The principal cause, it seems, of their displeasure is, that both Cæsar and myself are left out of the commission for dividing the lands[5] among the soldiers, and that every thing is disposed of just as you and your friends at Rome think proper.

Notwithstanding that I was on my march[6] when I received this account, yet I thought it would not be advisable to pass the Alps till I had informed myself how affairs stand. I am well persuaded, nevertheless, that with respect to

be taken away. The polite and learned panegyrist of Cicero's conduct, has endeavoured to vindicate his admired hero from a charge so little favourable both to his prudence and his honour: and it is to be wished that his arguments were as convincing as they are plausible. In a point, however, that does not admit of any positive proof, candour will incline on the favourable side; though I cannot but agree with an excellent author, that if the accusation was true, "it very much takes "off from the ingratitude of Octavius, in consenting to the "death of his benefactor: since such double dealing could "hardly deserve the name of an obligation, let the effects of "it be ever so advantageous." *Life of Cic.* iii. *p.* 240. *Observ. on the Life of Cic.* iii. p. 54.

[5] These were lands which the senate seem to have promised as an encouragement to their troops, upon the breaking out of the war against Antony. *Vid. Philip.* xiv. 13.

[6] In order to join Plancus.

to yourself, these reports and menaces of the veterans aim at nothing farther than by alarming your fears, and incensing the young Cæsar against you, to obtain for themselves a more considerable proportion of the rewards decreed by the senate. But I do not intend, by saying this, to dissuade you from standing upon your guard: as nothing, be assured, is more valuable to me than your life. Let me only caution you, not to suffer your fears to run you into greater dangers than those you would avoid. However, I would advise you to obviate the clamours of these veterans, as far as you reasonably may; and to comply with their desires, both in regard to the decemvirs[7], and to the distribution of their rewards. As to those forfeited estates which belonged to the veterans who served under Antony; I should be glad, if you think proper, that Cæsar and myself may be nominated to assign them to the troops. But in reference to the pecuniary donative which they have been also promised; it will be proper to act with more deliberation, and as the circumstances of the public finances shall require: to which end it may be signified to them, that the senate will take these their claims into consideration.

[7] The persons appointed to execute the commission for the distribution of the lands above mentioned.

sideration. As to those other four legions to whom the senate has also decreed an allotment of lands, I imagine that the estates in Campania, together with those which were formerly seized by Sylla, will be sufficient for the purpose. I should think too that the best method of division would be, either to parcel out those lands, in equal shares, to the several legions, or to determine their respective proportions by lot. But when I thus give you my opinion, it is by no means as pretending to superior judgment, but merely from the affection of my heart towards you, and from my sincere desire that the public tranquillity may be preserved: which I am very sensible, if any accident should happen to you, cannot possibly be maintained.

I do not purpose to march out of Italy, unless I should find it greatly expedient. Meanwhile I am employed in disciplining my troops, and furnishing them with arms: and I hope to appear with no contemptible body of forces, upon any emergency that shall again call me into the field. But Cæsar, however, has not sent back the legion to me, which served in Pansa's army.

I request your immediate answer to this letter: and if you should have any thing of importance to communicate to me, which requires particular secresy, I desire you would

convey it by one of your own domestics. Farewel.

Eporedia[8], May the 24th.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 710.]

From the same to CICERO.

ALL things here go on well[9]: and it shall be my endeavour to render them still better. Lepidus seems to be favourably disposed towards me: and, indeed, we have reason to divest ourselves of all our fears, and to act with undaunted freedom in defence of the commonwealth. But had our affairs a far less promising aspect; yet it might justly animate and augment that courage which I know always resides in your breast, to reflect that we have three powerful armies[1] devoted to the service of the republic, and that Fortune has already declared in our favour.

The report which I mentioned in my former letter is evidently calculated to intimidate you. But believe me, if you exert a proper spirit, the whole united party will be unable to withstand your eloquence.

I pur-

[8] A town not far from Vercellæ; from whence the last letter from Brutus was dated. See p. 292. of this vol.

[9] "Brutus having received, most probably, some fresh intelligence concerning Lepidus, wrote this letter to Cicero "the day after he had written the former. *Mr. Ross.*

[1] That of Octavius, Plancus, and his own.

I purpose, agreeably to what I told you in my last, to remain in Italy till I shall hear from you. Farewel.

Eporedia, May the 25th.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 710.]

To Plancus.

The news from your part of the world is so extremely variable and contradictory, that I am utterly at a loss what to write. Sometimes the accounts we receive of Lepidus are agreeable to our wishes, and at others entirely the reverse. All reports, however, concur in assuring us, that you are superior to every danger, either from fraud or force. If you are, in some degree indebted for the latter to Fortune; it is certain that the former, at least, is owing to your prudence alone.

I am informed, by a letter from your colleague[a], dated the 15th of May, that you mentioned, in one of your expresses to him, that Lepidus had refused to receive Antony. We should have been more disposed to credit this intelligence, if you had taken notice of it in any of your dispatches to Rome. But, perhaps, you would not venture to communicate to us this

[a] Decimus Brutus.

this piece of good news, as having been a little premature in an account of the same kind in your last. Every man, indeed, is liable to be deceived by his wishes; but all the world knows that you can never be imposed upon by any other means. In the present instance, however, all possibility of farther error is removed: for *to stumble twice against the same stone*, is a disgrace, you know, even to a proverb. Should the truth prove agreeable then to what you mentioned in your letter to your colleague, all our fears are at an end: nevertheless, we shall not dismiss them, till we receive a confirmation of this account from your own hand.

I have often assured you of my firm persuasion, that the whole credit of delivering the commonwealth from this civil war, will devolve entirely upon that general who shall extinguish these its last surviving flames: an honour which I hope, and believe, is reserved solely for yourself.

It is with great pleasure, though without the least surprise, that I find you entertain such grateful sentiments of my zeal in your service. Higher, indeed, it cannot possibly rise: but you may depend upon my exerting it to more important purposes, if affairs in your part of the world should succeed as we wish. Farewel.

May the 29th.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 710.]

Lentulus[2] to Cicero.

As I found, when I applied to Brutus in Macedonia, that he would not soon be prepared to march to the assistance of this province[3], I determined to return hither, in order to collect what remained of the public money, and to remit it with all possible expedition to Rome. In the interval I received intelligence that Dolabella's fleet appeared upon the coast of Lycia[4], and that he had procured above an hundred transport-vessels, intending, if he should not succeed in his designs upon Syria[5], to sail directly with his forces to Italy, and join the Antonys and the rest of those infamous rebels. I was so much alarmed at this account, that I thought proper to postpone all other affairs, and immediately proceed in quest of this fleet. And notwithstanding my ships were unequal both in number and size to those of the enemy,

I should

[2] He was the son of Publius Lentulus, to whom several letters in the first and second books are addressed. He attended Trebonius into Asia Minor as his quæstor in that province, from whence the present letter was written.

[3] In order to quell the commotions which Dolabella had raised. See rem. 7. p. 273 of this vol.

[4] It formed part of the province of Asia Minor. It is now called Aldinelli.

[5] See rem. 4. p. 194 of this vol.

I should probably have destroyed their whole fleet, if I had not been obstructed by the Rhodians: however, I have disabled the greatest part of it, and dispersed the rest. I have taken, likewise, every one of their transports, the soldiers and officers on board having quitted them upon the first notice of my approach. In a word, I have succeeded in the main of my design, having defeated a scheme which I greatly dreaded, and prevented Dolabella from strengthening our enemies by transporting his forces into Italy.

I refer you to the letter which I have written to the senate[6], for an account of the ill treatment I received from the Rhodians; though, indeed, I have by no means represented it in its strongest colours. These people, in consequence of their imagining that the affairs of the commonwealth were utterly desperate, behaved towards me with the most insufferable insolence. But their affronts to my own person are in no sort the foundation of my complaints: I have ever disregarded injuries of this kind, that centred entirely in myself. It is their disaffection to the republic, their attachment to the opposite party, their constant ill offices to all those who distinguish themselves in the support of our liberties, that I thought demanded my

[6] The following letter.

my resentment. Let me not be understood, however, as passing an indiscriminate censure upon the whole island in general: far am I, indeed, from thinking them all equally infected with the same principles. But I know not by what fatality it happens, that those very magistrates who refused to give protection to my father, to Lucius Lentulus, to Pompey, and to the rest of those illustrious chiefs who fled into this island after the battle of Pharsalia, are all of them, at this juncture, either actually in the administration themselves, or possess an unlimited influence over those who are. Accordingly, they have conducted themselves in this affair with their usual malevolence; and it is not only expedient, but, indeed, absolutely necessary, that the republic should interpose her authority, lest the insolence of this people should rise to still greater heights, by passing any longer unchastised.

Let me hope you will continue, as usual, to take my interests under your protection: and that you will, upon all occasions, both in the senate, and in every other instance, promote my honours with your suffrage. As the province of Asia is decreed to the consuls[7], with a power

[7] Hirtius and Pansa: the news of whose death, together with that of the battles in which they fell, had not yet reached the knowledge of Lentulus.

power of appointing whomsoever they shall think proper to administer the government till their arrival; I entreat you to employ your interest with them to confer this dignity upon me. The situation of affairs in this province does by no means require their presence before the expiration of their consular office, or in any sort render it necessary that they should send hither an army; for Dolabella is now in Syria: and, agreeably to what you declared with your usual prophetic discernment, he will certainly be defeated by Cassius ere the consuls can possibly arrive. Accordingly, he has been obliged to abandon the siege of Antiocha, and has retreated to Laodicea, a sea-port town in Syria, as the only city in which he could confide. I hope he will soon meet with the fate he so well deserves; or rather, indeed, I am persuaded it has already attended him, for he has no other place to which he can retreat, and it is impossible he should make any long or effectual resistance against so powerful an army as that which Cassius has led against him[8]. I imagine, therefore, that Pansa and Hirtius

[8] This shortly afterwards proved to be the fact; for Cassius having forced the city of Laodicea to surrender, Dolabella, in order to avoid falling into the hands of his enemy, put an end to his own life by the assistance of one of his slaves, whom he commanded to be his executioner. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 69.

Hirtius will be in no haste to come into these provinces, but rather choose to finish their consular year at Rome. For this reason I am inclined to hope that you may prevail with them to appoint me their substitute.

I have received assurances from both of them, as well in person as by letter, that no successor should be elected to my office during their consulate: and Pansa has lately repeated the same promise to my friend Verrius. Believe me, it is not from any ambitious views that I desire to be continued some time longer in this province. But as I have met with many difficulties and disadvantages in the discharge of my functions, I should extremely regret the being obliged to resign my post before I shall have fully reaped the fruit of my labours. If it were in my power to remit to Rome the whole of those assessments I had actually levied, I should be so far from wishing to remain here, that I should desire to be recalled. But I am very solicitous to receive the money I advanced to Cassius; to replace what I lost by the death of Trebonius, and the oppressions of Dolabella; as well as to recover the several sums which are due to me from those who have perfidiously broken the good faith they owed both to myself and to the republic. Now, these are points which I can by no means effect, unless the

time of my continuance in this province be prolonged: a privilege which I hope to obtain by the interposition of your usual good offices.

I persuade myself that my services to the commonwealth give me just reason to expect, not the honour only of administering this province, but as high dignities as Cassius and the two Bruti: as I not only shared with them in forming the design and undergoing the hazard of that ever-memorable enterprize against Cæsar[9], but have exerted myself with equal zeal and spirit in all our present commotions. I was the first, let me boast, that bid defiance to the oppressive laws of Antony. I was the first that brought over the cavalry of Dolabella to the interest of the republic, and delivered them into the hands of Cassius. I was the first who levied troops in defence of our common liberties against the infamous attempts of those who have conspired our destruction: and it is owing entirely to me that Syria, together with the army in that province, joined themselves under Cassius in the support of the republic. The truth is, if I had not very expeditiously contributed

[9] Plutarch (as Manutius in his remark upon this passage observes) taking notice that several affected to be thought associates in the conspiracy against Cæsar, who, in truth, were in no way concerned in that affair; particularly mentions Lentulus as one in that number. But he paid dear for his boast; as it cost him his life when Octavius got into power. *Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

tributed those large subsidies, both of men and money, with which I supplied Cassius, he would not have ventured to march into Syria: and the name of Dolabella would now have been no less formidable to the republic than that of Antony himself. Yet, at the same time, that I acted thus warmly for the interest of the republic, I had every private bias that could draw me to the opposite party. Dolabella was my friend and companion; as the Antonys were my nearest relations: and it was by the united good offices of the latter that I obtained the quæstorship of this province. But the love of my country was superior to every other attachment: and I stood forth the first to declare war against the strongest and most endearing connexions both of blood and friendship. Inconsiderable, it must be acknowledged, is the fruit which I have hitherto reaped from these instances of my patriotism. However, I do not despair: and I shall unweariedly persevere, not only in displaying my zeal for our liberties, but in exposing myself to every difficulty and every danger for their support. Nevertheless, I cannot but add, if I were to be encouraged by some of those honours I have merited from the senate and from every friend to our country, they would give me an authority which

would

would enable me to act with greater advantage to the common cause.

I did not see your son when I was with Brutus, as he was just gone into winter-quarters with the cavalry[1]. But I had the satisfaction of finding that he was in general esteem: which gave me great pleasure, not only on his account and yours, but likewise upon my own. For I cannot but consider a son of yours, that thus copies out his father's virtues, as standing in the relation to me of a brother. Farewel.

Perga[2], May the 29th.

LETTER

[1] "Brutus, when he first left Italy, sailed directly for "Athens, where he spent some time in concerting measures "how to make himself master of Greece and Macedonia: "which was the great design that he had in view. Here he "gathered about him all the young nobility and gentry of "Rome, who, for the opportunity of their education, had "been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but of them "all, he took the most notice of young Cicero. He made "him, therefore, one of his lieutenants, though he was but "twenty years old; gave him the command of his horse; "and employed him in several commissions of great trust "and importance; in all which the young man distinguished "both his courage and conduct." *Life of Cic.* iii. 142.

[2] A city of Pamphylia, in Asia Minor: now called *Pirgi.*

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 710.]

Lentulus, Proquæstor and Proprætor, to the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, the Senate, and the Commons of Rome.

As soon as Dolabella had possessed himself of Asia[2] by the most infamous and cruel act of treachery[a], I applied immediately to the army in Macedonia under the command of the illustrious Marcus Brutus, as the nearest assistance to which I could have recourse, in order to recover this province as soon as possible to the dominion of the commonwealth. But Dolabella being apprehensive of my design, advanced with so much rapidity, that he had got out of these territories before it was possible that the forces I had solicited could arrive. In his march, however, he laid the whole country waste, seized upon the public money, and not only plundered the Roman citizens of their effects, but most inhumanly sold them as slaves. I did not think it necessary, therefore, to defer my departure out of Macedonia, till the troops of Brutus should be ready. It appeared to be most

[2] Asia Minor. See rem. 8. p. 309. vol. ii.

[a] See rem. 7. p. 273. of this vol.

most for the advantage of the republic, that I should return with all expedition to the duties of my post, in order to levy the remainder of the public taxes, to collect the money I had deposited, to inquire what part of it had been seized, and by whose neglect: in a word, to transmit to you a full and faithful account of the state in which I should find the affairs of this province. With these views, I embarked: but as I was sailing among the Greek islands, I received intelligence that Dolabella's fleet lay off the coast of Lycia, and that the Rhodians had a considerable number of ships of war ready to sail. I resolved, therefore, to put back to Rhodes with the ships that attended me, and which were now joined by those under the command of Patiscus, the proquæstor: a person whom I must mention as most intimately united with me, not only by the ties of friendship, but by the same common sentiments towards the republic. I assured myself that the Rhodians would give me assistance, in the first place, from their regard to the authority of your degree, by which Dolabella is declared an enemy to his country: and, in the next, as they stood engaged by a solemn treaty renewed with us in the consulate of Marcus Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius, to consider the enemies of the

the republic, in all respects, as their own. But I was greatly deceived in my expectation: they were so far from being inclined to strengthen my fleet with any of their own ships, that they would not suffer it to enter their harbour. They even refused to furnish our soldiers with provisions and water: and it was with difficulty I obtained permission myself to sail into their port with two small vessels. However, I did not think proper to resent this insult upon the rights and the majesty of the Roman people: deeming it of more importance, in the present conjuncture, to frustrate the designs of Dolabella. For I had discovered, by some intercepted letters, that it was his purpose, if he failed in his attempt upon Syria and Egypt, (as fail I was sure he must) to proceed directly with his band of robbers and their plunder to Italy. Accordingly, in view to this his scheme, he had pressed, out of the ports of Lycia, a considerable number of transports, none of them less than fifty-six tons burthen[3]: and these were strongly guarded by his fleet. Being greatly alarmed, therefore, conscript[4] fathers, at

[3] These vessels were much inferior to those employed for the same purposes in our service; the largest of which are of 300 tons, and the smallest of 100.

[4] This appellation was at first given as a mark of distinction to those particular senators who were added by Tarquinius

at this dangerous design: I resolved to bear with the injurious treatment of the Rhodians, and to submit to every milder expedient of gaining them over to our interest. For this purpose, I suffered myself to be introduced into their senate in the manner they thought proper: where I represented, in the strongest terms I was capable, the danger to which the republic would be exposed, if that infamous rebel should transport his forces into Italy. But I found them most perversely disposed to imagine, that the friends of the republic were the weaker party; that the general association in favour of our liberties was by no means voluntary; that the senate would still patiently suffer the insolence of Dolabella; and that no man would venture to vote him a public enemy. To be short, they were more inclined to believe the false reports that had been propagated by the disaffected, than to credit my representations, though entirely agreeable to truth. In conformity with this disposition, they had sent, before my arrival in the island, two several embassies to Dolabella, notwithstanding his late assassi-

quinius Priscus, or by the people at the settling of the commonwealth, to the hundred which originally composed the senate as it was instituted by Romulus. But, in after-times, it became a common title, which was promiscuously made use of in all addresses to that great council of the republic. *Vid. Manut. de senat.*

assassination of Trebonius, and the many other flagitious acts which he committed in this province. And this they did by an unexampled violation of their laws, and contrary to the express prohibitions of the magistrates who were then in office. But whether this conduct was owing to their fears for the territories they possess on the continent, as they themselves alledge; or whether it is to be imputed to the factious influence of a few of their principal magistrates, who formerly treated some of our illustrious countrymen with equal indignity, I know not. This, however, is certain, that I could not prevail with them to take any measures to obviate an evil, which it was very easy for them to prevent: and all the arguments I could use, either with respect to my own personal danger, or in regard to that which threatened the republic, if this traitor, with his banditti, after being driven from Syria, should transport themselves into Italy, proved utterly ineffectual. It was even suspected, that the magistrates themselves amused us with various pretences of delay, till they could send intelligence to Dolabella's fleet of our approach. And, indeed, there were some circumstances that greatly increased this suspicion; particularly, that Sextius Marius, and Caius Titius, the lieutenants of Dolabella, suddenly quitted

the fleet, and abandoned their transports, which had cost them so much time and pains to collect. Be that as it will, I pursued my voyage from Rhodes towards Lycia, and falling in with the enemy, I took all their transports, and have restored them to their owners. By these means I have obstructed what I so much feared, and have removed all apprehensions of Dolabella's passing into Italy with his rascal crew. I chased the enemy as far as Sida, which is the utmost limit of my province; where I learnt that part of them were separated, and that the rest had steered in company together towards Syra and the island of Cyprus. Having thus dispersed this squadron, and knowing that brave commander and excellent patriot, the illustrious Caius Cassius, had a considerable fleet in those seas, I returned to the duties of my employment: and it shall be my endeavour, conscript fathers, to give both you and the republic full proofs of my indefatigable zeal. To this end, I shall exert my utmost assiduity in collecting the public revenues, which I shall transmit to you, together with all my accounts, as expeditiously as possible. If I should have time, likewise, to make a progress through the province, in order to inquire into the conduct of those with whom I entrusted the care of the finances, I shall not fail to send a list of such who shall appear to have

have been faithful to their trust, as well as of those who, by voluntarily betraying it, have rendered themselves partners in the guilt of Dolabella. Let me add, that if you shall think proper to chastise these last, according to their demerits, the execution of your justice will greatly strengthen my authority, and enable me, with more facility, to raise and preserve the remainder of the public taxes. In the mean while, the better to secure the public revenue, and to protect this province from future insults, I have formed (what, indeed, was extremely wanting) a body of troops composed entirely of volunteers.

Since I wrote the above, about thirty Asiatic soldiers, who deserted from Dolabella in Syria, are arrived in Pamphylia. They relate that Dolabella appeared before the walls of Antiochia, in Syria, and finding that the inhabitants had shut the city gates against him, he made several attempts to enter by force; but was always repulsed with great disadvantage. At length, having lost about an hundred men, he retired in the night, and fled towards Laodicea; leaving all his sick and wounded behind him. They add, that the same night almost the whole of his Asiatic troops deserted; eight hundred of which returned to Antiochia, and surrendered

themselves to the officers of the garrison, which Cassius had left in that town; the rest, (of which number these soldiers are) came down into Cilicia by mount Amanus: in fine, that Cassius, with his whole army, was reported to have been but four days march from Laodicea when Dolabella retired towards that city. I am persuaded, therefore, that this most infamous villain will meet with the punishment he deserves much sooner than we expected.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

LEPIDUS, Imperator and sovereign Pontiff[2], to the Senate and People of Rome[3].

HEAVEN and earth will bear me witness, conscript fathers, that there is nothing I have at all times more sincerely desired, than the preservation of our common liberties: and I should soon

[2] The function of the Roman pontiffs was to give judgment in all causes relating to religion, and to regulate the festivals, sacrifices, and all other sacred institutions. The sovereign pontiff, or superintendant of these *pontifices*, was one of the most honourable offices in the commonwealth.

[3] This letter was written by Lepidus to the senate, in order to excuse the junction of his forces with those of Antony; which was effected the day before its date. But though he represents himself as merely passive in that transaction, and to have been forced into it by a general revolt of his troops; yet it most evidently appears to have been in consequence of a secret treaty which had been in agitation during some months before, between him and Antony.

soon have convinced you of this truth, if Fortune had not forced me to renounce those measures I purposed to pursue. My whole army, indeed, expressed their usual tenderness towards their fellow countrymen, by a mutinous opposition to my designs; and, to own the truth, they absolutely compelled me not to refuse my protection to such a multitude of Roman citizens. I conjure you then, conscript fathers, to judge of this affair, not by the suggestions of private resentment, but by the interest of the commonwealth: nor let it be imputed as a crime to me and my army, that, amidst our civil dissentions, we yielded to the dictates of compassion and humanity. Be assured, that by acting with an equal regard to the safety and honour of all parties, you will best consult both your own and your country's advantage. Farewel.

From my camp, at Pons Argenteus,
May the 30th.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK XV.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

To Plancus.

Though I am too well assured of the disposition of your heart, to require any formal declarations of your gratitude, yet I cannot but confess that I received your acknowledgments with great pleasure, as they afforded me the most evident proof of the affection you bear me. I was always, indeed, perfectly sensible

of

of your friendship; but it never appeared to me in a stronger or more advantageous light.

Your letter to the senate was extremely well received, not only from the important account it brought us of your wise and heroic measures, but as it was greatly admired likewise for the strength and elegance of its composition. Let it be your earnest labour, my dear Plancus, to extinguish the remains of this war, which if you should happily effect, you will acquire the most consummate credit and reputation. I wish all possible prosperity to the republic; yet, believe me, spent as I am with my utmost efforts to preserve it from destruction, I am scarce more solicitous for the liberties of my country, than for the glory of my friend. I hope that the immortal gods have placed within your power a most favourable opportunity of increasing your fame; and let me entreat you to embrace it, my dear Plancus, in the full persuasion that whoever shall destroy Antony, will have the honour of terminating this most execrable and alarming war. Farewel.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

Asinius Pollio[1] to Cicero.

It is owing to Lepidus, who detained my couriers above a week, that I did not receive earlier advice of the several actions near Mutina; though, indeed, I should be glad to have been the last that was informed of this unhappy news, if it were utterly out of my power to be of any assistance in redressing its consequences. I wish the senate had ordered me into Italy, when they sent for Plancus and Lepidus; for if I had been present, the republic would not have received this cruel wound. And though some, perhaps, may rejoice in this event, from the great number of principal officers and veteran soldiers of the Cæsarian party who have perished, yet they will undoubtedly find reason to lament it, when they shall be sensible of the terrible desolation it has brought upon their country. For if what is related, concerning the number of the slain, be in any degree true, the flower and strength of our armies are entirely cut off.

I was well aware of the great advantage it would have proved to the republic, if I could have

[1] See rem. 6. p. 207. and rem. 1. p. 208. of this vol.

have joined Lepidus; as I should have been able, especially with the assistance of Plancus, to have dissipated those doubts which occasioned his delay in declaring for the senate. But the letters which I received from him being written (as you will perceive by the copies I herewith transmit) in the same spirit with those speeches which, it is said, he made to his army at [2]Narbo, I found it necessary to act with some sort of artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march my troops through his province. I was apprehensive, likewise, if an engagement should happen before I could execute my designs, that the known friendship I had with Antony (though not superior, indeed, to that which Plancus entertained for him) would give my enemies an occasion of misrepresenting my intentions. For these reasons I dispatched two couriers from Gades[3], in the month of April, by two different ships, with letters, not only to you, and to Octavius, but to the consuls also, requesting to be informed in what manner my services might most avail the republic. But, if I am right in my calculation, these ships did not sail till the very day on which the battle was fought between Pansa and Antony; as that was the soonest,

[2] Narbonne, in Provence.
[3] Cadiz.

soonest, I think, since the winter, that these seas were navigable. To these reasons for not marching, I must add, that I had so little apprehension of this civil war, that I settled the winter-quarters of my troops in the very remotest parts of Lusitania[4]. Both armies, it should seem, were as eager to come to an action, as if their greatest fears on each side were, lest some less destructive expedient might be found of composing our disturbances. However, if circumstances required so much precipitation, I must do Hirtius the justice to acknowledge, that he conducted himself with all the skill and courage of a consummate general.

I am informed, by my letters from that part of Gaul which is under the command of Lepidus, that Pansa's whole army is cut to pieces, and that he himself is since dead of his wounds. They add, that the *martial* legion is entirely destroyed, and that Lucius Fabatus, Caius Peducæus, and Decimus Carfulenus, are among the number of the slain. My intelligence farther assures me, that, in the subsequent attack by Hirtius, both he and Antony lost all their legions: that the fourth legion, after having taken Antony's camp, was engaged and defeated by the fifth, with terrible slaughter; that Hirtius, together with Pontius Aquila, and,

[4] Portugal.

and, as it is reported, Octavius likewise, were killed in the action. If this should prove true, (which the gods forbid) I shall be very greatly concerned, My advices farther import, that Antony has, with great disgrace, abandoned the siege of Mutina; however, that he has [a]*** complete regiments of horse still remaining, together with one which belongs to Publius Bagiennus, as also a considerable number of disarmed soldiers; that Ventidius has joined him with the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth legions; and that Antony has determined, if there should be no hopes of gaining Lepidus, to have recourse to the last expedient, and arm not only the provincials, but even the slaves; in fine, that Lucius Antonius, after having plundered the city of Parma, has posted himself upon the Alps. If these several particulars are true, there is no time to be lost; and every man who wishes that the republic, or even the name of the Roman people, may subsist, should immediately, without waiting for the express orders of the senate, contribute his utmost assistance to extinguish these dreadful flames. I hear that Decimus Brutus is at the head of only seventeen cohorts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raised troops, which had been levied by Antony. I doubt not, however,

[a] The number is omitted in the MSS.

however, that the remains of the forces commanded by Hirtius will join him. I hope so at least: as there is little, I think, to be expected from any new recruits that may be raised; especially since nothing can be more dangerous than to give Antony time to recover strength.

My next letters from Italy will determine the plan of my operations: and, as the corn is now cut down, and partly carried in, I shall be more at liberty to execute them without obstruction from the season of the year. In the mean time, let me assure you, that I will neither desert, nor survive[5], the republic. It is a misfortune, however, that my distance from the scene of action is so great, and the roads so infested, that it is often six weeks, and sometimes more, ere I can be informed of any event that has happened. Farewel.

LETTER

[5] Notwithstanding Pollio's pious resolutions of expiring with the republic, he was contented to live on, long after its total destruction, and died in a good old age in the court and favour of Augustus. It was not many months, indeed, from the date of this letter, that he united with the enemies of his country, by joining his troops with those of Antony and Lepidus. *Auct. Dial. de Caus. Corrupt. Eloquent.*

LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS to CICERO.

IT affords me some consolation, in the midst of my great concern[6], that the world is at length convinced that my fears were not without just foundation[a]. I have sent, by this express, a full account of the whole affair to the senate. And now let them deliberate, if they please, whether they shall call home their troops from Africa and Sardinia, whether they shall send for Marcus Brutus, and whether they shall order the payment of my forces. But of this you may be well assured, that unless they act, with regard to these several articles, in the manner I have pointed out in my letter, we shall all of us be exposed to the utmost danger.

I entreat you to be extremely cautious whom the senate shall employ to conduct the troops that are to reinforce me: as it is a trust which requires great fidelity and expedition. Farewel.

From my camp, June 3d.

LETTER

[6] Occasioned by the treachery of Lepidus, in having deserted the cause of the republic, and joined himself to Antony, this letter appears to have been written a few days after that event; being dated the 3d of June, and the junction between the two armies of Lepidus and Antony having been effected on the 29th of May.

[a] See the 11th letter of the preceding book, p. 276. to which this seems to allude.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS[7].

MAY every god confound that most infamous of all human Beings, the execrable Segulius! For do you imagine, my friend, that he has told this idle tale to none but Cæsar, or to you? Be assured he has related it to every mortal that would give him the hearing. I am much obliged to you, however, for informing me of this contemptible report: as it is a very strong instance, my dear Brutus, of the share you allow me in your friendship.

As to what he mentioned concerning the complaints of the veterans, that you and Cæsar are left out of the commission for dividing the lands, I sincerely wish I had, likewise, been excluded from so troublesome an office. But it is by no means to be imputed to me, that you were not both nominated: on the contrary, I moved that all our generals should be included. But the clamours of those who always endeavoured to obstruct your honours, carried it against me: and you were both excepted, in opposition

[7] This letter is an answer to the 23d of the foregoing book: and was written before any of the letters which give an account of Antony's being received by Lepidus had come to Cicero's hands.

opposition to my warmest efforts. Unheeded then by me, let Segulius propagate his impotent calumnies! For all that the man means is nothing more than to repair his broken fortunes. Not that he can be charged with having dissipated his patrimony: for patrimony he never had. He has only squandered in luxury what he acquired by infamy.

You may be perfectly at ease, my dear and excellent Brutus, with regard to those fears which you so generously entertain upon my account, at the same time that you feel none, you tell me, upon your own. Be assured I shall expose myself to no dangers which prudence can prevent: and, as to those against which no precaution can avail, I am little solicitous. High, indeed, would my presumption be, were I to desire to be privileged beyond the common lot of human nature.

The advice you give me not to suffer my fears to lead me into greater dangers than those they would avoid, supplies me at once with a proof both of your judgment and your friendship: but the caution is altogether unnecessary. The truth of it is, distinguished as you are by a fortitude of mind, which renders you incapable of fear upon any occasion; yet, there is no man who approaches nearer to you in that quality than

myself. Nevertheless, I shall always be upon my guard, though I shall never be afraid. Indeed, if I should have any reason, will it not be wholly owing, my dear Brutus, to yourself? For were I of a disposition apt to take alarm, yet I should be perfectly composed, in the confidence of that protection I shall receive from your approaching consulate: especially as the world is no less sensible than I am of the singular share I enjoy of your affection.

I agree entirely with your opinion concerning the four legions, as also that both you and Cæsar should have the distribution of those estates you mention. This is an office on which some of my colleagues had cast a very wishful eye: however, I have disappointed their longing, by reserving it wholly for you and Cæsar. In the mean time, if any occurrence should arise that requires particular secrecy, I shall observe your directions, and communicate it to you by one of my own domestics. Farewel.

June the 4th.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS to CICERO.

I SHALL never regret to undergo the greatest dangers in the cause of my country, provided, my dear Cicero, that whatever happens to myself, I may not justly be accused of temerity. But I should not scruple to confess that I had been guilty of an imprudence, if I had ever acted in reliance upon the sincerity of Lepidus. Too easy a disposition to give credit to fair pretences, cannot so properly be called a fault as an error: but an error into which the noblest minds are generally most liable to fall. It was not, however, from a mistake of this nature that I had lately well-nigh been deceived: for the character of Lepidus I perfectly well knew. It was entirely owing to a certain sensibility of what my detractors might say: a quality, I will freely acknowledge, particularly prejudicial in the affair of war. I was apprehensive, if I remained in my camp, that those who are inclined to misconstrue my actions, might represent me as the occasion of the war being protracted, by obstinately indulging my resentment against Lepidus: and therefore I advanced almost within sight of him and Antony. I encamped, indeed, at no greater distance from them than forty miles,

 that

that I might be able, as circumstances should require, either speedily to join the army of Lepidus, or safely to retreat with my own. In marking out my camp, I chose a spot of ground that gave me the advantage of having a large river in my front, which would take up some time in passing, and that lay contiguous, likewise to the country of the Vocontii[8]: who, I was sure, would favour my retreat. When Lepidus found himself disappointed of what he so much wished, and that there was no hopes of my approaching nearer, he immediately threw off the mask: and on the 29th of May he joined Antony. The combined armies moved the same day in order to invest my camp: and they had actually advanced within 20 miles, before I received advice of their junction. However, I struck my tents with so much expedition, that, by the favour of the gods, I had the happiness to escape them. My retreat was conducted with so much good order, that no part of my baggage, nor even a single man, was either left behind or intercepted by these incensed villains. On the 4th of this month I repassed the Isara with my whole army: after which I broke down the bridge I had thrown across that river. I took this precaution, that my troops might have

[8] A people of Narbonensian Gaul.

have time to refresh themselves, as well as to give my colleague[9] an opportunity of coming up to me: which I imagine he will be able to effect in three days from the date of this letter.

I must always acknowledge the zeal and fidelity which Laterensis has shewn to the republic, in his negotiations between Lepidus and myself: but it is certain that his great partiality towards Lepidus, prevented him from discerning the dangers into which I have been led. However, as soon as he discovered how grossly he had been imposed upon, he attempted to turn that sword against his own breast, which with much more justice had been plunged in the heart of Lepidus. But he was prevented from completing his purpose: and it is said (though I by no means mention it as a certainty) that the wound he has given himself is not mortal[1].

My escape from these traitors has proved an extreme mortification to them: as they marched to attack me with the same unrelenting fury which instigates them against their country. Some late circumstances particularly contributed to inflame their resentment. I had frequently and warmly urged Lepidus to extinguish this civil war: I had disapproved of the conferences

[9] Decimus Brutus.

[1] It proved otherwise: and the senate, in honour of his patriotism, not only decreed him a public funeral, but ordered a statue to be erected to his memory. *Dio.* p. 324.

conferences that were holden with the enemy: I had refused to see the lieutenants whom Antony deputed to me under the passports of Lepidus: and had intercepted Catius Vestinus, whom the former had sent express to the latter. But it is with pleasure I reflect, that the more earnestly they wished to get me into their hands, the more they suffer in the disappointment.

Continue, my dear Cicero, to employ the same vigorous efforts you have hitherto exerted, that we who are in arms, for the defence of the republic, may have suitable honours paid to our services. In the mean time, I wish that Cæsar would join us with those brave troops he commands; or, if his affairs will not permit him, that, at least, they might be sent under the conduct of some other general: for most certainly his own personal interest is at stake[2]. The whole force of the disaffected party is united against our country: and shall we not put forth our utmost strength in its defence? As for what concerns myself, I will venture to assure you, that if you at Rome are not wanting on your parts, I will abundantly perform every thing that can be expected on mine.

The obligations I am continually receiving from

[2] Octavius was, at this time, secretly carrying on a treaty with Lepidus and Antony, which shortly after ended in an alliance, which every reader is acquainted with, under the name of the *Triumvirate*.

from your hands, endear you to me every day more and more; at the same time that they animate me to act in such a manner as not to forfeit, in any degree, your esteem and affection.

I will only add my wishes, that I were able in person to give you such proofs of my gratitude, as might afford you greater reason to rejoice in the good offices you have conferred upon me. Farewel,

Cularo, on the frontiers of the Allobroges[3].
June the 6th.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS.

To tell you the truth[4], I was once inclined to be somewhat angry at the shortness of your letters: but I am now so well reconciled to your concise manner, that I condemn my own as downright loquacity, and shall make your epistles the models of mine. How short, yet how expressive are you when you tell me, that "all things go "well with you, and that you shall endeavour "to render them still better; that Lepidus "seems favourably disposed; and that we "have

[3] A people of the Narbonensian Gaul, in which Cularo, now called Grenoble, was situated.

[4] When Cicero wrote this letter, which is an answer to the 24th of the preceding book, p. 310. of this vol. he had not yet received the news of Antony's junction with Lepidus.

"have every thing to expect from our three "armies[5]!" Were I ever so full of fears, these significant sentences would banish them all.--- But I exert the spirit you recommend; and, indeed, if, at the time when you were closely blocked up in Mutina, my hopes, nevertheless, were fixed entirely upon you, how much higher, think you, must they be raised now?

I should be glad, my dear Brutus, to resign to you my post of *observation*, if I might do so without incurring the censure of deserting it. As to what you mentioned of continuing in Italy till you should hear from me, I do not disapprove of it, if the motions of the enemy should not call you elsewhere; as there are many points upon the carpet at Rome, which may render it prudent for you not to remove to a farther distance. But, at all events, if your presence here may prove a mean of terminating the war, it is undoubtedly the first and principal scheme you should have in view.

The senate has decreed the first money that could be raised for the payment of your troops. Servius is extremely your friend; and you may always depend upon me. Farewel.

June the 8th.

LETTER

[5] Those of Decimus Brutus, Plancus, and Octavius.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 710.]

ASINIUS POLLIO to CICERO.

BALBUS[6], my quæstor, has withdrawn from Gades, with very considerable effects in his hands, which he had received of the public taxes[7], consisting of a large quantity of uncoined gold, a much larger of silver[8], together with a great sum of ready money; and what adds to his iniquity, is, that he has not discharged even the pay of the troops[9]. In his flight he was detained three days, by contrary winds, at Calpe[1]; from whence, however, he sailed on the 1st of this month, and has transported himself, together with his treasure, into the dominions of Bogud, king of Mauritania[2].---But

[6] He was nephew to Lucius Cornelius Balbus, the great friend and favourite of Cæsar, and of whom frequent mention has been made in the preceding letters.

[7] The quæstor was receiver-general of the provincial taxes.

[8] The province of Spain abounded in valuable mines of every sort, particularly in those of silver and gold; the proprietors of which paid a certain proportion to the government, of the pure ore which these mines produced. *Strab.* iii. *Burman. de vectigal. P. R. dissert. p.* 107.

[9] The payment of the forces was a part of the business belonging to the provincial quæstors.

[1] Gibraltar.

[2] One of the most considerable kingdoms in ancient Africa, comprehending those of Fez and Morocco, together with part of

But whether the present prevailing reports[3] will bring him back to Gades, or carry him to Rome, I know not; for I hear that his resolutions vary with every different express that arrives. But, besides the robberies and the extortions he has committed in this province, and the cruelties he has exercised towards our allies, he affected, in several instances, to imitate (as he himself used to boast) the actions of Cæsar. Accordingly, on the last day of the games which he exhibited at Gades, he presented Herennius Gallus, a comedian, with the golden ring, and conducted him to one of the 14 benches of the theatre, which he had appropriated to those of the equestrian order. He likewise continued himself in the supreme magistracy of Gades, by his own single authority, and at two immediately successive assemblies of the people, he nominated, for the two next following years, such of his creatures whom he thought proper to succeed him in the government of that city. He also recalled from exile, not, indeed, those unfortunate men who were banished

of Algiers and Billedulgerid. Bogud, the prince of this country, had, in the late civil wars, favoured and assisted Cæsar, by whom he had been greatly distinguished; as he afterwards supported Antony in the war between him and Octavius. It is probable, therefore, that Balbus withdrew with these treasures, not in order to convert them to his private use, but to employ them in the cause of Antony. *Hirt. de Bel. Alex.* 59. *de Bel. Afric.* 25.

[3] Concerning the junction of Lepidus with Antony,

banished on account of the present commotions, but those infamous rebels who were concerned in the sedition which was raised in Gades, during the proconsulate of Sextus Varrus[4], and in which all the members of their council were either assassinated or expelled. Thus far he had Cæsar for his model; but, in the instances I am going to mention, he exceeded even Cæsar himself. He caused a play to be acted at the public games, upon the subject of his embassy to Lucius Lentulus[5], the proconsul; and the good man was so affected with the remembrance of those transactions which the scenes of this drama recalled to his mind, that he melted into tears. At the gladiatorial games, he gave a specimen of his cruelty with regard to one Fadius, who had served in Pompey's army. This man had twice, it seems, voluntarily entered the lists in combats of

[4] It does not appear who this person was, nor at what time he presided as governor of Spain.

[5] He was consul in the year 704, when the civil war broke out, in which he took part with Pompey. He accompanied that general in his retreat to Brundisium, and from thence passed over with him into Greece. But before Lentulus left Italy, Balbus was employed by Cæsar (as Manutius observes) to prevail with him to return to Rome. Balbus afterwards (as appears by a passage which the same commentator cites from Paterculus) executed a much more difficult commission of this kind, at the siege of Dyrrachium, where he undertook to carry some farther overtures from Cæsar to Lentulus, who was in that garrison, and which he executed with equal address and intrepidity. It was this adventure, it is probable, that formed the subject of the play which Pollio here mentions. *Ad Att.* viii. 11. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 51.

of this kind; but, upon the present occasion, he refused to fight, though peremptorily required by Balbus, and accordingly threw himself upon the protection of the populace. But the mob having pelted Balbus with stones, when he attempted to recover him out of their hands, he let loose upon them a party of his Gallic horse. Balbus having, by these means, got the unfortunate Fadius into his possession, ordered him to be fixed in a pit, which was dug for that purpose, in the place where the games were exhibited, and caused him in this manner to be burnt alive. This was performed soon after Balbus had dined[6], who was present during the whole execution, walking about bare-footed, with his hands behind him, and his tunic loose, in the most unconcerned and indecent manner; and while the unhappy sufferer cried out that he was a Roman citizen, "Why do you not run now

[6] There seems to have been some peculiar indecorum in this circumstance, though it is not very easy to determine wherein it precisely consisted. It may be, that public executions, at this time of the day, were thought indecent: it is certain, at least, that it was deemed improper to hold courts of judicature for the trial of criminal matters in an afternoon. For Plutarch takes notice that the younger Cato was accused of this practice during his prætorship; and thinks it necessary, for the credit of that illustrious Roman, to deny the truth of the charge: or, perhaps, Pollio might point out this circumstance as a mark of uncommon cruelty of disposition in Balbus, who could rise from table with a temper of mind so different from that which pleasures of this sort are naturally apt to inspire, and turn from a cheerful meal to a scene of the utmost horror and barbarity. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticen.*

"now (said the insulting and relentless Bal-"bus) to implore the protection of the people?" But this was not the single cruelty he exercised. He exposed, likewise, several Roman citizens to wild beasts; particularly a certain noted auctioneer in the city of Hispalis[7]; and this for no other reason but because the poor man was excessively deformed. Such is the monster with whom I had the misfortune to be connected! But more of him when we meet. In the mean time (to turn to a point of much greater importance) I should be glad the senate would determine in what manner they would have me act. I am at the head of three brave legions, one of which Antony took great pains to draw over to his interest at the commencement of the war. For this purpose he caused it to be signified to them, that the very first day they should enter into his camp, every soldier should receive five hundred [8]denarii, besides which, he also assured them, that if he obtained the victory, they should receive an equal share of the spoils with his own troops: a reward which all the world knows would have been without end or measure. These promises made a deep impression upon them; and it was with great difficulty I kept them from deserting. I should

[7] The city of Seville, in Spain.
[8] About 14l. sterling.

should not, indeed, have been able to have effected this, if I had not cantoned them in distant quarters; as some of the cohorts, notwithstanding they were thus separated, had the insolence to mutiny. Antony endeavoured likewise to gain the rest of the legions, by immense offers. Nor was Lepidus less importunate with me to send him the thirtieth legion; which he solicited both by his own letters, and by those which he caused Antony to write.--- The senate will do me the justice, therefore, to believe, as no advantages could tempt me to sell my troops, nor any dangers which I had reason to apprehend, if Antony and Lepidus should prove conquerors, could prevail with me to diminish their number, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no other purpose but to employ it in the service of the republic[9]. And let the readiness with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the senate, be a proof that I would have complied in the same manner with every other they should have thought proper to have sent me. I have preserved the tranquillity of this province; I have maintained my authority over the army; and have never once moved beyond the limits of my

[9] See rem. 5. p. 337. of this vol.

my own jurisdiction. I must add, likewise, that I have never employed any soldier, either of my own troops, or those of my auxiliaries, in carrying any dispatches whatsoever: and I have constantly punished such of my cavalry whom I have found at any time attempting to desert. I shall think these cares sufficiently rewarded, in seeing the peace and security of the republic restored. But if the majority of the senate, and the commonwealth, indeed, in general, had known me for what I am, I should have been able to have rendered them much more important services.

I have sent you a copy of the letter which I wrote to Balbus, just before he left this province; and if you have any curiosity to read his play, which I mentioned above, it is in the hands of my friend Gallus Cornelius, to whom you may apply for it. Farewel.

Corduba, June the 8th.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To Plancus.

All our hopes are entirely fixed (and fixed, too, with the approbation of the gods themselves) upon you and your colleague[1]. The perfect unanimity, therefore, that appears, by your

[1] Decimus Brutus.

your several letters to the senate, to subsist between you, affords great satisfaction, not only to that assembly in particular, but to the whole city in general.

As to what you wrote to me concerning the commission for dividing the lands, if that affair had been brought before the senate, I should have been the first to have proposed the most honourable decree in your favour. But the slowness of their deliberations, in the business which was then under their consideration, together with other obstructions which attended their debates, having prevented them from coming to any resolution, both your brother and myself were of opinion, that it was most advisable to proceed upon the former decree; and I take it for granted that he has acquainted you to whom it is owing that it was not drawn up in the manner we proposed. But if, in this instance, or in any other, your inclinations should not be entirely gratified, be well persuaded, however, that you are in such high esteem with all the friends of the republic, that there is no sort of honours they are not disposed to confer upon you. I wait with great impatience for an express from you, as I expect it will bring us the news I most wish.--- Farewel.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

To CORNIFICIUS[a].

Is it really so, my friend; and have I never written to you but when I had occasion to recommend the cause of some litigious suitor? I confess I have frequently troubled you with letters of this kind; but must you not thank your own obliging partiality towards me, if the world is persuaded that no recommendation has so much weight with you as mine? Tell me, however, when did I omit writing, if your family gave me notice of an opportunity? In fact, nothing affords me greater satisfaction, now that I cannot converse with you in person, than this intercourse of letters. I only lament that my public occupations prevent me from corresponding with you as frequently as I wish. If I had more leisure, indeed, I should not only provoke you to enter with me into a commerce of this epistolary kind, but I should challenge you with whole volumes of my works; a challenge which I ought to have received from you, as your engagements, I imagine, are not altogether so numerous as mine. But if I am

[a] See rem. 6. p. 61. of this vol.

am mistaken in this supposition, how shall I acquit you of being a little unreasonable, in expecting frequent letters on my part, when you have so seldom leisure to send me any on yours? If I have hitherto been engaged in the most important occupations, as holding myself bound to exert all my cares in the defence of the republic, I may still more strongly urge that plea at present. For as a relapse is always more dangerous than a first attack, so the re-kindling of this war, after it was almost totally extinguished, demands a double portion of my labour and vigilance. But, not to enter farther into this subject, believe me, my dear Cornificius, I should think myself most inexcusably indolent, not to say ill-mannered, were I capable of suffering you to gain the superiority over me in any instance of friendship. That I enjoy yours, is a point of which I never once had the least doubt: but the conversation I have lately had with Cherippus, has rendered it still more evident. As agreeable as he always was to my taste, I could not but look upon him, in his last visit, with more than ordinary pleasure, as he not only acquainted me with the sentiments of your heart, in the message he delivered to me, but, as he represented, at the same time, a lively image of your very air and counte-

nance. You had no reason then to be apprehensive that I should be displeased at your having sent me the same common letter which you addressed to all your friends in general. If I desired a more particular memorial, it was merely from the affection of my heart, and by no means as a point upon which I insisted.

The loss of both our consuls[4], together with the incredible scarcity of money in the treasury, puts it out of my power to ease you of your great and continual expence in your military preparations. We are trying all expedients in order to raise supplies for discharging those donatives we promised to the troops that behaved well: and I imagine that we shall at last be obliged to have recourse to a tax[5].

I am persuaded there is no truth in the report concerning Attius Dionysius: as Stratorius has not mentioned a word to me upon that subject. With regard to Publius Lucceius: be well persuaded that his interest is no less my concern than it is yours: for, indeed, he is extremely my friend. I could not, however, prevail with the managers

[4] Hirtius and Pansa.

[5] "This was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each "man's substance; but had wholly been disused in Rome "from the conquest of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, "which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city "ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present "times obliged them to renew it." *Val. Max.* iv. 3. *Life of Cic.* iii. p. 249.

managers of the auction to adjourn the sale: their engagements and their oath oblige them, they assure me, to the contrary. I would by all means, therefore, advise him to hasten into Italy: and if the summons I sent him some time since had any weight, he will be at Rome when you read this letter. As to the affairs you mention, and particularly the money, I find you were not apprised of Pansa's death when you wrote your letter, by the hopes you express that, through my interest, he would comply with your request. And most undoubtedly he would, had he been living: for he held you in great esteem. But as he is dead, I do not see that any thing can now be done in this matter.

I approve, in general, of your measures with respect to Venullius, Latinus, and Horatius: and particularly, that you have deprived them of their lictors. But I am not altogether so well pleased, that, in order to render this circumstance the less uneasy to them, you have taken away these attendants, likewise, from your own lieutenant. Those who deserve the highest honours ought not to have been thus levelled with a set of men, who certainly merit the utmost disgrace: and if they will not depart from your province, in obedience to the

decree of the senate, I think you should use compulsory methods for that purpose.

I have nothing farther to add in answer to your last letter (of which I received a duplicate) but that I hope you will be persuaded, your credit and reputation are no less sacred to me than my own[6]. Farewel.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

To Decimus Brutus.

Though I always receive your letters with the highest satisfaction, yet I am much better pleased that you employed your colleague Plancus to make an excuse to me, than if you had interrupted your very important occupations by writing yourself. He has executed your commission very fully: and nothing can render your character more truly amiable to me, than the account he gives of your zeal and diligence.

The junction of your forces with those of Plancus, and the harmony with which you act

[6] This letter closes the correspondence between Cicero and Cornificius. The latter, not long afterwards, lost his life in bravely defending his province against the troops of Sextius: who claimed it in the name of Octavius, by virtue of the general division of the Roman dominions that had been agreed upon between the triumvirs. *Appian de B. C.* p. 620.

act together, as appears by your common letter to the senate, was extremely agreeable, both to that assembly, and to the people in general. What remains then, my dear Brutus, but to conjure you to persevere in the same unanimity, and to endeavour, I will not say to excel others, but (what is far worthier of your ambition) to rise above yourself. I need add no more: especially as I am writing to one whose epistolary conciseness I purpose to imitate.

I wait, with impatience, for your next dispatches: as I imagine they will bring us such accounts as are agreeable to our wishes. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 710.]

To Furnius[7].

When your letter assured me that it was absolutely necessary either to slight Narbonensian Gaul[8], or to attack the enemy with great disadvantage, I was glad to find that the former had been chosen: as I much more dreaded the consequences of coming to an engagement upon unequal terms. What you mentioned,

[7] See rem. 7. p. 303. of this vol.

[8] In which province were the combined armies of Antony and Lepidus.

mentioned, likewise, concerning the harmony between Plancus and Brutus, afforded me great pleasure: for it is a circumstance upon which I found my principal hopes of our success.

Notwithstanding you modestly refer it to time to inform me to whom we owe that general zeal which appears in your province[9]; be assured it is a point of which I am already perfectly well apprised. I could not, therefore, but read the latter part of your letter, which, in all other respects, was extremely agreeable to me, with some concern. You there tell me, that if the election for ædiles is fixed for the month of August, you will soon be at Rome; but if it is already over, you will be there much sooner: "for wherefore," you ask, "should you weakly continue to hazard your life, without the prospect of any recompence?" O! my friend, is it possible that you, who judge so well concerning the interests of others, should be thus a stranger to your own? But, as I am sensible of the strong impulse of your heart towards true glory, I cannot believe that these are its genuine sentiments: at least, if they be, I must condemn my own judgment as well as yours, for being so greatly deceived in your

[9] Transalpine Gaul: in which province Furnius was lieutenant to Plancus.

your character. Shall the ambition of anticipating a slight and common honour, (for so I must call the office you have in view, if obtained in the manner by which so many others have risen to it before you) induce you to withdraw from a theatre where you are acting with such universal and well-merited applause? Shall it be a question with you, whether to offer yourself as a candidate now, or at the next election for prætors: and is it none, how you shall deserve every illustrious distinction which the commonwealth can bestow? Are you a stranger to the exalted reputation you have acquired? Or do you consider it as of no value, thus to rise in the esteem of your country? If you are ignorant, indeed, of the high credit in which you stand with the public, it is an ignorance for which we, who are your friends, are undoubtedly to be blamed. But if you already know it; tell me, my Furnius, can any prætorship afford you a satisfaction superior to what you feel in discharging the duty you owe to your country, and in reaping immortal glory? an acquisition which, though few, indeed, endeavour to deserve, yet, every man, most certainly, wishes to enjoy. Calvisius, who is much your friend, and a man of great judgment also, frequently joins with me in complaining of you upon this article.

cle. However, since you are so desirous to attain this office, I shall endeavour that the election may be deferred till the month of January: as this adjournment will, upon many accounts, I think, prove for the advantage, likewise, of the republic. Farewel: and may victory attend you!

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

I IMAGINE you are informed, by the public journals, which, I know, are duly transmitted to you, of the infamous conduct of that most light and inconstant man, your relation Lepidus[1]. We are again, therefore, involved in a war, which we flattered ourselves was entirely over: and all our hopes are now placed upon Decimus[2] and Plancus; or, to speak more truly, indeed, upon Brutus[3] and upon you. For it is from you two that we expect, not only a present assistance, in case any misfortune (which the gods avert!) should attend our arms, but a firm and lasting re-establishment of our liberties. The

[1] Lepidus and Cassius were married to the two sisters of Marcus Brutus.
[2] Brutus.
[3] Marcus.

The reports in regard to Dolabella[4], are, in all respects, agreeable to our wishes, excepting, only, that they want confirmation. In the mean time, be assured, that the opinion and expectations of the world concerning you, are such as evidently shew that they look upon you as a truly great man. Let this animate you to the noblest achievements: in the full persuasion that there is nothing so considerable which your country does not hope to obtain by your courage and conduct. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 710.]

To the same.

I TAKE example from the conciseness of your letters, to shorten mine: though, to say truth, nothing occurs at present that can tempt me to lengthen them. For, as to *our* transactions, I well know you are acquainted with them by the public journals: and we are perfectly ignorant of every thing that concerns yours. One would imagine, indeed, that all communication were cut off between us and Asia: for we have received no intelligence from thence, excepting only some uncertain, though, indeed, repeated rumours in relation to the defeat of Dolabella.

We

[4] That he was defeated by Cassius.

We imagined that the flames of this civil war were entirely extinguished: but, in the midst of this pleasing persuasion, we were suddenly and greatly alarmed by the conduct of your relation Lepidus. Be assured, therefore, that the hopes of the republic are wholly fixed upon you and your army. We have, it is true, a very powerful body of troops in this part of the world: nevertheless, your presence here is extremely necessary, to give our affairs all the success we wish. I will not say that we have no hopes of recovering our liberties: but I must say our hopes are small. Such as they are, however, they are entirely founded upon your future consulate[5]. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 710.]

CASSIUS[6], Quæstor, to CICERO.

THE preservation of the republic, by the victory we have lately obtained, gives me inexpressible joy: as the honours that have been paid

[5] Cassius and Brutus were prætors the last year: and the laws entitled a man to sue for the consulate two years after he had served the office of prætor.

[6] It is altogether uncertain whether the author of this letter was Lucius Cassius, the brother of Caius Cassius, or another Cassius, distinguished by the addition of *Parmensis*, from Parma, the place of his nativity. There is nothing, indeed, in the history of these two Cassii, or in the letter itself, that can render it more reasonable to suppose it to have been written by the one, rather than the other: for they

paid my friend[7], afford me, likewise, a very sensible pleasure. I cannot sufficiently indulge my admiration, when I consider you as thus rising above yourself in glory; and that the consular[8] should shine forth even with more lustre than the consul. Some uncommon privilege of fate most certainly attends your patriot virtues: as we have often, I am sure, experienced. How else should your single eloquence be of more avail than the arms of all our generals? You have a second time, indeed, rescued the well-nigh vanquished republic from the hands of our enemies; and once more restored her to us again. From this period, therefore, I date the return of our liberties: and I shall now be honoured with the public applause of the most distinguished of patriots. Yes, my friend,

they were both in the number of the conspirators against Cæsar; and both afterwards acted with Brutus and Cassius in Asia. This epistle appears to have been written from the island of Cyprus, soon after the news of Antony's defeat at the battle of Mutina had reached that part of the world. *Casaubon. ad Suet. Jul.* 80. *Appian. B. C. p.* 671.

7 This seems to allude to the honours that were paid to Cicero by the populace, upon the news that Antony had been forced to abandon the siege of Mutina. "The whole "body of the people (to give the relation of this fact in the "words of Dr. Middleton) assembled about Cicero's house, "and carried him in a kind of triumph to the capitol: "where, on their return, they placed him in the rostra, to "give them an account of the victory: and then conducted "him home with infinite acclamations." *Phil.* xiv. 5. *Life of Cic.* iii. 197.

8 Those who had passed through the office of consul, were styled consulars.

friend, you will now declare, (what you promised to conceal till the recovery of our freedom should render it to my advantage to be known) you will now declare to the whole world those instances you received of my tender attachment both to you and to the republic, during the dark and dangerous season of our servitude. I am much less solicitous, however, that you should publish my praises, than that you should be persuaded I deserve them: and I had rather stand approved by your silent judgment, than, without that internal verdict in my favour, to enjoy, by your recommendation, the good opinion of the whole world. It is my great ambition, indeed, that you should esteem my late conduct to have been, not the effect of a sudden and irregular impulse, but the natural result of the same uniform principles of which you have been a witness: in a word, that you should think of me, as of one from whom the republic has so much to expect, as may well justify every honour to which I shall be advanced. I am sensible, my dear Cicero, that your own family, as they are well worthy of the relation they bear to you, deserve your first and most tender regard. But those surely have a right to the next place in your affection, who endeavour to imitate your patriot virtues: and I shall

shall be glad to find that their number is considerable: I imagine, however, that it is not so great as to exclude me from a share in your good offices, and prevent you from procuring any public distinctions in my favour which shall be agreeable to your inclination and your judgment. That I am not unworthy of them, with respect to the disposition of my heart, I have already, perhaps, sufficiently convinced you: and, as to my talents, whatever they may be, the general oppression under which our country so long laboured, would not suffer them to appear in their full advantage.

I drew together, out of the ports of this Asiatic province, and of the neighbouring islands, all the ships of war I could possibly collect: and, considering the great opposition I met with from the several cities, I manned them with tolerable expedition. With this fleet I pursued that of Dolabella, commanded by Lucilius: who, after having frequently made a shew of coming over to me, but still, however, continuing to retreat, sailed, at length, into the port of Corycus[9]; where he blocked himself up. I did not think proper to follow him thither; not only as judging it most advisable to join our land forces, but as Turulius the quæstor lay behind me with a squadron which Tullius Cimber

[9] In Cilicia.

ber fitted out the last year from Bythinia. I put in, therefore, at Cyprus: from whence I take this first opportunity of acquainting you with the intelligence I have here received. I am to inform you then, that the city of Laodicea, (in pursuance of the example of our faithless allies the Tarsenses[1], though, indeed, with a greater degree of folly) have voluntarily called in Dolabella. From those two cities he has composed an army (as far as numbers can make an army) of Greek soldiers, and is encamped before Laodicea; having thrown down part of the walls, in order to join his camp with the town. On the other hand, Cassius[2] is encamped about twenty miles distant from him at Paltos. His army consists of ten legions, and twenty auxiliary cohorts, together with four thousand horse. He imagines that he shall be able to oblige the enemy to surrender, without hazarding a battle: as wheat is so scarce in Dolabella's camp, that it is sold for twelve drachmæ. The enemy must necessarily, indeed, be destroyed by famine, if they are not soon supplied by the ships that belong to Laodicea. This, however, we shall with great ease prevent: for, besides the three squadrons under Turulius, Patiscus, and myself, Cassius has a considerable fleet in these seas commanded by Sextilius Rufus. Let me encourage

[1] The citizens of Tarsus.
[2] Caius Cassius.

encourage you, then, to hope, that we shall soon vindicate our liberties with the same success[3] in this part of the world, as has attended your army in Italy. Farewel.

Cromyacris, in Cyprus, June the 13th.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 710.]

To Decimus Brutus.

I was expecting, every day, to hear from you, when our friend Lupus gave me notice that he was just setting out to you, and desired to know if I had any thing to write. But though I have nothing worth communicating, more than what you are furnished with by the public journals, and that you are no friend, I am told, to letters of mere empty form, yet, I cannot forbear following your example, and sending you two or three short words. Be assured, then, that all our hopes rest upon you and your colleague[4]. As to Brutus[5], I am not able to give you any certain account of him: I can only say, that, in pursuance of your advice, I endeavour to persuade him, in all my letters, to come over into Italy, and to take a part in this general war.

[3] See rem. 8. p. 316. of this vol.
[4] Plancus.
[5] Marcus Brutus.

war[6]. I much wish he were now here: as his presence would render me less apprehensive of the consequences of these intestine commotions[7] which prevail in Rome; and which are, by no means, indeed, inconsiderable.—But I forget that I proposed to imitate your laconic brevity, and am running on in a second page. Farewel then, and may success attend your arms[8]!

June 18th.

LETTER

[6] The conduct of Marcus Brutus, as far as can be judged of it, at this great distance, appears altogether unaccountable. Before the battle of Mutina, he had drawn down all his forces to the coast, in order to embark for Italy, if any accident should make his assistance necessary. But, upon the news of Antony's defeat, he retired to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella: and from that time (as Dr. Middleton observes) seemed deaf to the call of the senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. But had Brutus and Cassius (as the same ingenious historian remarks) marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the desertion of Plancus and the death of Decimus; it seems reasonable to believe, that the immediate ruin of the republic might have been prevented. *Life of Cic.* iii. 247.

[7] The disturbances to which Cicero alludes, were, probably, those that were occasioned by the violent measures of Octavius, in order to obtain the consulate. See rem. 8. p. 381. of this vol.

[8] Decimus Brutus, soon after the date of this letter, was most treacherously deserted by Plancus: who drew off his troops from those of his colleague, and went over with them to the camp of Antony and Lepidus. "Decimus Brutus "being thus abandoned, and left to shift for himself, with a "needy mutinous army, eager to desert, and ready to give "him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself "than by flying to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. But the

distance

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 710.]

To Caius Cassius.

Your relation and my friend, the *worthy* Lepidus, together with all his adherents, were, by an unanimous decree of the senate, which passed on the 30th of June last, declared public enemies to their country: but, at the same time, a full pardon was offered to such as shall return to their allegiance before the first of September. The senate acts with great spirit; but it is the expectation of being supported by your army, that chiefly animates them in their vigorous measures. I fear, indeed, that we shall have occasion for all your assistance; as the war is now become extremely formidable by the villany of Lepidus.

The accounts which daily arrive concerning Dolabella are altogether agreeable to our wishes: but, at present, they are nothing more than mere rumours. However, your letter addressed

" distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that " he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being " taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance " and host, whom he had formerly obliged: where, either " through treachery, or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned " with his head to their general. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 64. *App.* " iii. 588. *Val. Max.* ix. 13." *Life of Cic.* iii. 242.

dressed to the senate, dated from the camp on the 9th of May, has raised a general persuasion in Rome, that he is actually defeated. Accordingly, it is imagined, that you are now upon your march into Italy, with a view, on the one hand, of succouring us with your troops, if any of those accidents so common in war should have rendered our arms unsuccessful: or, on the other hand, of assisting us with your counsels and authority, in case we should have proved victorious. You may be assured, in the mean while, that no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to procure the forces under your command all possible honours. However, I must wait a proper season for this purpose, when it shall be known how far they have availed, or are likely to avail, the republic. At present, we have only heard of their endeavours in the cause of liberty: and glorious, it must be acknowledged, their endeavours have been. But still some positive services are expected; and these expectations, I dare be confident, either already are, or soon will be, perfectly answered. No man, indeed, possesses a more patriot or heroic spirit than yourself: and it is for this reason that we wish to see you in Italy as soon as possible. The fact is, if you and Brutus were here, we should look upon the republic as restored.

If

If Lepidus had not received Antony, weak and defenceless as he was, when he fled after the battle of Mutina, we should have obtained a complete victory. This infamous step, therefore, has rendered him far more odious in Rome even than Antony himself ever was: for Antony raised a war at a time when the republic was in the utmost ferment; whereas Lepidus has kindled the flames in the midst of peace and victory. We have the consuls elect[9] to lead our armies against him; but though we greatly depend upon their courage and conduct, still, however, the uncertain event of war leaves us much to fear. Be assured, therefore, that our principal reliance is upon you and Brutus, whom we hope soon to see in Italy; and Brutus, indeed, we expect every day. Should we have defeated our enemies, as I hope we shall, before your arrival, the authority, nevertheless, of two such illustrious citizens will be of infinite service in raising up the republic, and fixing it upon some tolerable basis. All our business, indeed, will by no means be over, notwithstanding we should be delivered from the infamous designs of our enemies: as there are many other disorders of a different kind, which it will be still necessary to redress. Farewel.

LETTER

[9] Decimus Brutus and Plancus.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 710.]

To AMPIUS[1].

YOUR family has informed you, I imagine, of my zealous labours to procure your restoration, as I have the pleasure to be assured that they are abundantly satisfied with my services.--- Uncommon, indeed, as the affection is which they every one of them bear towards you, yet I cannot allow that they are more sincerely desirous of your welfare than myself. I am sure, at least, their power of assisting you in this conjuncture is by no means equal to mine. I have employed it, and shall continue to employ it, for your benefit: and I have already gained a very considerable point, which will much contribute to facilitate your return. In the mean while, preserve a firm and manly spirit, and be well persuaded that my good offices shall not be wanting to you upon any occasion. Farewel.

LETTER

[1] In some MSS. the superscription of this letter is to Appius, and in others to Ampius Balbus. The time when this letter was written is no less uncertain than the person to whom it is addressed.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS, Consul-elect, to CICERO.

I CANNOT forbear to express, upon every occasion, the sentiments I entertain of your repeated favours; though, at the same time, it is with some reserve that I indulge myself in this satisfaction. The great intimacy, indeed, which you allow me to enjoy with you, renders all formal acknowledgments of this kind unnecessary; nor would I make so cheap a return to the many important obligations I owe to you, as that of mere empty professions. I had much rather reserve the proofs of my gratitude to some future opportunity of testifying it in person; and, if I live, I will convince you, by the assiduity of my good offices, and by every instance of respect and esteem, that you have not a friend, nor even a relation, who is so warmly attached to you as myself. In the mean time, I am at a loss to determine, whether the daily pleasure I receive, or the lasting honour I shall derive from your affectionate regard, be greater.

I find the interest of my troops has been a part of your care. It was not with any inten-

tion

tion of advancing my own power, that I was desirous, they should be distinguished by the senate, as I am conscious of having no views but what regard the welfare of the republic. My reasons were, in the first place, because I thought they deserved to be rewarded; and, in the next place, because I was desirous they might, upon all occasions, be still more attached to the commonwealth. I hoped, likewise, by these means, so strongly to fortify them against all solicitations, that I might be answerable for their continuing to act with the same unshaken fidelity which they have hitherto preserved.

I have kept entirely upon the defensive; and, though I am well apprised with how much just impatience the public wishes for a decisive action, yet I persuade myself that the senate will approve my conduct. If any misfortune, indeed, should attend our armies in this part of the world, the republic would not very soon be in a condition to oppose any sudden incursion of these rapacious traitors. As to the state of our forces, I imagine you already know that those under my command consist of three veteran legions, together with one new-raised regiment, which last, however, is composed of far the best disciplined troops I ever saw of this sort. Brutus[2] is at the head of ten legions, one

[2] Decimus.

one of which is veteran, another has been upon the establishment about two years, and all the rest are lately raised. Thus you see, though our army is very numerous, it is not extremely strong. The republic, indeed, has but too often had occasion to be convinced, how little is to be expected from raw and unexperienced forces. However, if we had been joined either by the African legions[3], which are composed wholly of veteran troops, or by Cæsar's[4], we should, without hesitation, have hazarded a general engagement. As the troops of the latter were somewhat nearer than the former, I frequently pressed Cæsar, by letters, to advance; and he accordingly promised to join us with all expedition. But other views, I perceive, have diverted him from these intentions. Nevertheless, I have dispatched my lieutenant, Furnius, with another letter to him, if happily it may any thing avail. You are sensible, my dear Cicero, that I take an equal part with you in the affection you bear to Octavius.--- He has a right to my friendship, not only from that

[3] These legions composed part of that army with which Julius Cæsar defeated Scipio in Africa, from whence they had lately been recalled by the senate. But, soon after their landing, they were corrupted by the other soldiers, and, deserting the senate, they joined themselves to Octavius. *Life of Cic.* iii. 241.

[4] Octavius.

that intimacy which I enjoyed with his uncle[5]; but, in regard also to his own disposition, which, as far as I could ever discover, is regulated by principles of great moderation and humanity. It would ill, indeed, become that distinguished amity, which subsisted between Julius Cæsar and myself, not to look upon Octavius with all the tenderness which is due to the son of my friend, after he has been adopted as such by Cæsar's will, and that adoption approved by the senate. What I am going to say, therefore, is more the dictates of concern than resentment; but, it must be acknowledged, that if Antony still lives, if he has been joined by Lepidus, if their armies are by no means contemptible; in a word, all their hopes and all their attempts are singly owing to Cæsar[6]. Not to look farther back than to his promise of joining me: had he fulfilled the assurances he gave me for that purpose, the war would, by this time, either have been totally at an end, or driven into Spain, where the enemy could not have carried it on without great disadvantage, as that province is utterly averse to them. I am at a loss to conceive, therefore, with what view, or by whose advice,

Cæsar

[5] Julius Cæsar.
[6] See rem 2. p. 263. of this vol.

Cæsar was diverted from a measure so greatly to his interest and his honour, in order to turn his pursuits towards a consulship of a few months duration[7]: much to the terror, at the same time, of the republic[8], and with pretensions, too, exceedingly ridiculous[9]. The remonstrances of his friends might be extremely serviceable upon this occasion, both to himself and to the commonwealth. But none of them, I am persuaded, would have so much influence over him as yours[10]; as there is no man who is

[7] To the end of the current year: of which there remained about five or six months unexpired, when Octavius was declared consul.

[8] Octavius advanced towards Rome at the head of several legions, in order to demand the consulate: which threw the city into the utmost consternation and disorder. *Dio*. p. 319. *Appian*. p. 585, 6.

[9] Perhaps, the absurdity to which Plancus here alluded, was, that Octavius, who was but a youth of twenty, and, consequently, who wanted above twenty years of the age prescribed by the laws for being qualified to sue for the consular office, should entertain so extravagant a thought as to aspire to the supreme magistracy.

[10] Plancus chose a very improper man to dissuade Octavius from pursuing his design upon the consulate, when he fixed upon Cicero as the most likely person to prevail with him for that purpose. It appears, indeed, that Octavius had artfully ensnared Cicero to enter into his views, by persuading him that he was desirous of having him for his colleague in the consular office, and promising to leave the sole administration of it to Cicero's superior wisdom and experience. The bait was too well adapted to his vanity and ambition, to be thrown out in vain: and Cicero undertook the management of this affair upon the terms proposed. Plutarch, Appian, and

is so much obliged to you except myself: for I shall ever acknowledge that the favours I have received from you are great and innumerable. I have given instructions to Furnius to solicit Cæsar upon this subject: and if I should have that authority with him, which I am sure I ought, he will hereafter thank me for my advice. In the mean time, we have a very difficult part to sustain here: as, on the one hand, we do not think ourselves altogether strong enough to hazard an engagement: and, on the other,

and Dion Cassius, all concur in giving testimony to the truth of this fact: but, as it is a fact which proves that Cicero was by no means, at this juncture, acting the part of a patriot, the polite apologist of his conduct has endeavoured to discredit the evidence of these historians. To this end, Dr. Middleton produces the following passage from the letters to Brutus, as an incontestible proof, "that no man was more "shocked at Octavius's attempt, or took more pains to dis-"suade it than Cicero." *Cæsarem---improbissimis litteris quidam fallacibusque nunciis impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus. Quod simulatque sensi, neque ego illum-absentem litteris monere destiti, nec accusare præsentes ejus necessarios, qui ejus cupiditati suffragari videbantur; nec in senatu, sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes apperire dubitavi. Epist. ad Brut.* 10. Now, there seems to be the strongest reason to question either the authenticity, or the veracity, of this letter: because it is most certain, from one of Cicero's Philippics, that he actually did favour the earliest possible promotion of Octavius to the consulate. *Quid est enim P. C.* (says he) *cur eam (Octavium) non* quam primum amplissimos honores *capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem ætatem ad consulatum constituebant, adolescentiæ temeritatem verebantur. C. Cæsar ineunte ætate docuit ab excellenti eximiaque virtute,* progressum ætatis expectari non oportere. *In*

other, must take care not to expose the republic to greater dangers by declining one. However, if Cæsar could comply with the dictates of his interest and his honour: or if the African legions should speedily join us: you may depend upon having nothing to fear from this quarter.—Let me entreat you to continue your friendship

In hoc spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta jam salus, huic summi honores *et exquiruntur et parati sunt*, *Phil.* v. 17, 18. Could Cicero, after this, without being guilty of the wildest and the weakest inconsistency, "admonish Octavius, "by letter, against his designs upon the consulship; re-"proach those to their face who encouraged him in that "ambitious view; and lay open the source of these traito-"rous counsels in the senate;" (all which the epistle in question affirms that he did;) when he had, himself, in the speech and in the passage above cited, said every thing that his wit and eloquence could suggest in favour of Octavius's premature advancement to the consular office? Either the letters, then, to Brutus are not genuine; or Cicero, to serve a present purpose, pretended that he had acted a part which he did not. The former of these suppositions is maintained by some very learned and judicious critics: and the latter will by no means be thought improbable, if there is any weight in the several instances of the same kind which have been occasionally produced in the course of these remarks. But whichever of these alternatives be the fact, it equally concludes in support of that historical evidence for which I have been contending. In farther confirmation of which, it may be observed, that Plutarch cites the authority of Octavius himself, for what he affirms concerning the private agreement between Octavius and Cicero in regard to the consulate. And it is probable he took this piece of secret history from those memoirs which Octavius wrote of his own life: as it is certain, that both Plutarch and Appian made great use of them in compiling their histories. *Plut. in vit. Cic. Appian.* p. 578, 9. 385. *Dio.* p. 519. *Middlet. on the epist. to Brut.* p. 134. *rem.* 8. *Tunstal's observ. on the epist to Brut.* p. 222. *et Suet. in Aug.* 85.

friendship to me, and to be assured that I am entirely yours[11]. Farewel.

From my camp, July the 28th.

AN

[11] Plancus, soon after the date of this letter, abandoned his colleague Decimus Brutus, and went over with his troops to Antony and Lepidus. See rem. 8. on letter 15. of this book. About four months, likewise, from the time when this letter was written, the celebrated coalition was formed between Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus; in consequence of which, Cicero, it is well known, was sacrificed to Antony's resentment. In the last moments of his life he behaved with great composure: and it is the only circumstance in all his misfortunes that he bore with a becoming fortitude. He had, indeed, so much the less reason to complain of his fate, as it is certain that he suffered nothing more than he would have inflicted, had Fortune put Antony into his power. *Omnium adversorum*, says Livy, *nihil ut viro dignum erat, tulit, præter mortem : quæ, vere æstimanti, minus indigne videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nihil crudelius passurus erat, quàm quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset. Liv. fragm. apud Senec. Suasor.* 6. This is the judgment which the noblest and most impartial of the Roman historians has passed upon Cicero: and the truth of it is abundantly confirmed by the foregoing letters.

AN

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